

Where the literati seek to be the glitterati

Round up all the usual suspects, book them into expensive hotels, then turn them loose on the reading public... it's time for publishing's annual summer camp

Monday sketch



Joanna Coles

OUGHT we to stop, we've been going on for an hour now? inquired the playwright Julian Mitchell, looking somewhat frazzled. He had been interviewing the veteran writer Doris Lessing, who was proving as tough as a piece of old blintz. "You can go on a bit longer," came the hopeful cry from the organiser at the back of the tent.

support. Mitchell grimed bleakly, wrestling impotently with the microphone, and demanded questions from the floor. Welcome to Hay, 1996, a literary festival quite unlike any other. In the next two weeks V. S. Naipaul, Mario Vargas Llosa, Ted Hughes, Tibor Fischer, Germaine Greer, Carlos Fuentes, Julian Barnes and a host of others will descend on the Wye Valley for the literary world's equivalent of a summer camp. No other festival boasts quite the same concentration of literary egos. And where else would you find visitors seriously debating the correct collective noun for Booker Prize winners? A cabal? A verse? A chapter? Meanwhile, Ben Okri, Kazuo Ishiguro, and last year's winner Pat Barker were all expected, and Barker was spotted at the festival bookshop to check on her sales. To be fair, Doris had proved recalcitrant from the start. "You haven't written a novel for eight years, then you produce one about passionate love," said Mitchell, clutching a copy of *Love Again*, the critically acclaimed volume in question. "Is it personal, yes or no?" "It's bound to be, isn't it?" said Doris. "That's a yes then," said Mitchell, extract-



Making Hay for the session with Peter Mandelson: John Birt (left) and Sir Charles Powell

ing each word from the author with the ease of a dentist struggling with a particularly reluctant molar. "I'm interested that people haven't noticed the incest in the book," muttered Doris reproachfully. Behind her, the eye could not fail to be mesmerised by the energetic gesticulations of the blond, pony-tailed sign linguist, whose magnificent miming was reaching Marcel Marceau proportions and threatening to upstage Lessing and her flapping inquisitor. "What is the evolutionary purpose of falling in love?" Doris was pondering, before concluding: "I don't feel old but people talk to you as if you're a clever child. I'm either a DOL, a dear old lady, or a SOL, a sweet old lady." Indecently sprightly for 77, clearly she was neither. In the neighbouring tent Peter Mandelson was trying hard to be a sweet young politician. Officially in conversation with Anthony Howard, Labour's spin doctor and MP for Hartlepool had also agreed to take questions from the audience. "Yes, I'd like to know what Mr Mandelson thinks about today's edition of the Times," demanded one awkward member, brandishing a copy of the front page. It transpired he was referring to the MP Paul Flynn's comments that reading Mandelson's

book, *The Blair Revolution*, was like taking a train across Canada. "There's miles and miles of it," all. Mandelson smiled bravely. "Paul Flynn is a colleague and a friend. He made very different comments to me." "Why is Labour incapable of talking about taxation?" demanded someone else. "I don't believe we're going to create wealth and increase opportunity by taxing people more," soothed Mandelson. In the front row John Birt, director general of the BBC and owner of a weekend home nearby, gave an imperceptible nod. At the entrance two hikers clad in identical capotes peered in briefly, then rustled away. "Well, when I joined the Labour Party, 40 - no, let me see, 44 - years ago, I joined because it was a party which set out to make the rich poorer and the poor richer," said Anthony Howard, trying to prevent Mandelson from turning the discussion into a party political broadcast. The spin doctor looked scandalised. "I'd like to know what you're going to do for floating voters like me," mouthed a gingery woman at the back resolutely refusing to speak into the mobile microphone. "I used to adore Mrs Thatcher but I couldn't vote for the Tories now..."

"Please use the microphone, please," beseeched a nearby official. "Oh I can't stand being interrupted," cried the woman, waving him away. "I used to be a teacher and I can tell you I'm not inspired by New Labour." Back at Hay school, the nerve centre of operations, Peter Florence, the festival's energetic director, had just received his first complaint. Julian Glary's Friday night show had elicited seven complaints from punters. "It was the update on the precarious health of his wonder dog Sammy that did it," remarked Florence drily. Meanwhile in the bar, writers were discreetly trying to match their status with their hotel. Edwina Currie, Kate Adie and Mervyn Bragg were all staying at Langford Hall, a restored stately home with two helpings. "Well, we've got a Jacuzzi," boasted Michael Buerk, who led a rival party at the Bear, a coaching inn in nearby Crickhowell. "Today sees more high class literary chatter. There is the cosmologist John Gribbin ('How to make a universe out of nothing at all') and Richard Curtis, writer of *Blackadder* and *Four Weddings and a Funeral*, on how to make your jokes pay."

Social taxes plan 'shows Tory divide'

Conservative group proposes abolition of mortgage tax relief and reforms for House of Lords

Michael White Political Editor

LEFTWING Tories delighted Labour yesterday by urging John Major to resume using the tax system for openly social objectives such as the improvement of public transport and the discouragement of private car use in big cities. In leaked proposals for the forthcoming Conservative manifesto, the Tory Reform Group (TRG) flirts with reform of the House of Lords and the appointment of regional ministers of state to coordinate policy and economic issues with local leaders. MPs numbers would be cut from 651 to 500 but with higher pay. The document, drawn up by young activists in response to party chairman Brian Mahwinney's call for ideas, has not yet been submitted to party HQ. Given the predictably moderate tone of much of the TRG document, Labour declared that it showed the scale of the ideological divide when compared with the manifesto shopping lists being drafted by rightwing groups and think tanks. Despite Labour insistence that some schemes had been stolen from them, Tory moderates claimed the paper showed they were still the party of ideas, some of which are bolder than New Labour judges safe to offer voters so close to an election. Using the tax system for social purposes went out of fashion in the Thatcher years. Labour has been wary about offending motorists, but the TRG document calls for a supplement to the business rate in certain cities to pay for improved public transport; a tax on company car parking in designated



Peter Temple-Morris: MP for Leominster and a veteran Heseltine supporter, he is the high-profile front man on radio and television for the left-leaning Macleod Group which espouses unfashionably One Nation views. David Hunt: Unexpectedly dropped in John Major's last cabinet reshuffle, the former Welsh Secretary has emerged as president of the leftish Tory Reform Group and pillar of the new Conservative Mainstream umbrella group which embraces a range of views on key issues, but is loyal to Mr Major. Discreet. John Townend: Thatcherite wine merchant and MP for Bridlington since 1978, he took over the helm of the rightwing S2 Group from Sir George Gardiner after John Major had instantly evicted Sir George from a meeting at No. 10 to which he unwisely took semi-public demands. Michael Spicer: Former Conservative MP for Worcester and South works hard to lure John Major's government in a more Euro-sceptical direction. His influential European Research Group claims the support of 40 or 50 Tory MPs.

Disparate Tory groups and clubs to 'help unite party'

THE good news for John Major from the backbenches last night was that all sorts of loyal mainstream Tory MPs are keen to protect him in the turbulent months ahead. The bad news was that they have spun another thread of the spider's web which unites Conservative MPs in groups and dining clubs. Conservative Mainstream will not be a group as such, its supporters stressed yesterday. It will co-ordinate the efforts of other groups. "What binds us together is a belief that John Major has done a great deal in recent months to unify the party," an optimist declared. In practice that means that

Blairites launch network to take up intellectual challenge

AGROUP of young Blairites intellectuals has announced the formation of a network to help bring fresh impetus to New Labour policy-making, writes Martin Keeble. The move follows last week's call by the Labour leader for a new intellectual settlement of the left in the 1990s to rival Thatcherism in the 1980s. The Nexus network aims to bring together academics, researchers and writers to advise on ideology and policy and to stimulate debate on issues facing a future Blair government. Organisers are concentrating on young academics "to go beyond the old dogmas". Nexus will be independent of the Labour leader, but the move has Mr Blair's backing.

'Super-utility' bid creates job fears

Chris Barrie Business Correspondent

GOVERNMENT efforts to cool takeover fever in the electricity and water industries were set back yesterday when it emerged that Scottish Power is poised to launch a £1.3 billion bid for an English water company. The move comes weeks after the Trade Secretary, Ian Lang, blocked takeovers by generators National Power and PowerGen for regional electricity companies. It raises anew fears of huge job losses and the spectre of a bonanza for shareholders while consumers are left empty-handed. Confirming its interest in buying Southern Water, Scottish Power indicated last night that it would rather agree the takeover than mount a hostile bid. But the company is thought to be ready for a fight as part of its strategy to become a "super-utility" offering households power, water, gas and telephone services. In a statement Southern Water, which provides water and sewerage in Kent and Sussex, said it was aware of Scottish Power's intention but dismissed it as speculation. The takeover will raise the political temperature as the utilities just after Mr Lang indicated his desire for a period of calm in the run-up to the

'Play or pay' ultimatum to absentee Greek lawmakers

Helena Smith in Athens

GREECE may be the birthplace of democracy, but the Greek parliament is an awfully empty place. So empty, that after months of being confronted by imaginary MPs, the Speaker has decided to bring a bit of law and order to its benches. If he has his way, Apostolos Kalkamanis will soon be levying hefty fines (£350) on parliamentarians who miss more than five sessions a month. Absenteeism, he said, had become so chronic that the 300-seat chamber was at the point of paralysis. From now on, the peoples' representatives would have to sign themselves in whenever they entered it. "Too many of

Singer takes to country

First night

Adam Sweeting

Neil Diamond Wembley Arena

ALTHOUGH Neil Diamond tickles the taste buds of schlockaholics everywhere, he hasn't always been the blowy balladeer for

the bouffant and blow-waved brigade. As a keen young Manhattan songwriter in the 1960s, the man christened Noah Kaminsky was almost hip for a while, writing *I'm A Believer* for The Monkees and charting with *Red Red Wine*, which - much later - became a smash for UB40. These days, Diamond can afford to cruise the world on a lavish rotating stage, his 10-piece band surrounding him in their own pit while multi-

coloured lasers ricochet off the rafters. He hasn't forgotten his roots though, and he takes a brisk detour through his back pages via such early works as *Cherry Cherry*, *Solitary Man*, and *Shilo*. While one could wish to hear the songs performed in a smaller hall with a rougher and cheaper band, they still give some inkling of Diamond's long haul through the entrails of showbiz. But the punters have come to hear Diamond's greatest hits, while Neil himself is quite keen to plug his new album, *Tennessee Moon*. "It's a awfully nice of you to let us do these new songs," he said after the first three, as if we had a choice. We didn't, so he indulged himself by singing a few more. *Tennessee Moon* is a Diamond's-eye view of country, which isn't as implausible as it sounds. He played at Nashville's Grand Ole Opry in 1972, and country music has be-

come the natural home of the mainstream songwriter. Naturally, Diamond's version of country is glittery and overblown, but many of the songs are a cut above Music City's usual dross. Still, they will never dislodge his all-time greats, which Diamond sprinkled liberally through the set. Beautiful Noise was more of a garish din, but *Song Sung Blue* remains a surefire wave-your-arms-in-the-air singalong.

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'Cover-up' on chemical in baby milk

Ian MacKinnon

MOTHERS of bottled babies were last night facing uncertainty after it emerged that scientists had discovered leading brands of baby milk formula contained high levels of chemicals that could impair human fertility. But the Government refused to disclose which brands.

Manufacturers, the Ministry of Agriculture, and scientists attempted to reassure parents that the milk posed no threat, saying that the levels found were well within safety limits.

But critics accused the ministry of a cover-up after it emerged that it had urged manufacturers to find the source of the chemicals, but failed to warn the public of the test results.

"Mothers will find this very frightening," said John Chisholm, deputy chairman of the British Medical Association's GPs committee. "They have a right to know the facts."

The chemicals, called phthalates, which are often used to soften plastics in packaging, were discovered in nine brands of baby milk formula at levels found in tests to damage the testes of animals, reducing sperm count, and to disrupt the female reproductive system.

Concern has been growing over the effects of a group of chemicals, like phthalates, since it became clear they might be linked to declining human sperm counts, infertility and cancer.

A review of scientific studies conducted by the Medical Research Council last year found evidence to suggest that these chemicals — which mimic the effects of oestrogen — cut sperm count in rats,

though no link to humans has been found.

Environmental groups expressed alarm that MAFF scientists discovered the phthalates in baby milk.

It is estimated that infants fed on the products would receive an average of 0.15 milligrams of the chemical for each kilogram of their body weight.

A spokesman for the ministry emphasised that the levels discovered did not breach the official levels of tolerable daily intakes set by the Department of Health and the European Scientific Committee.

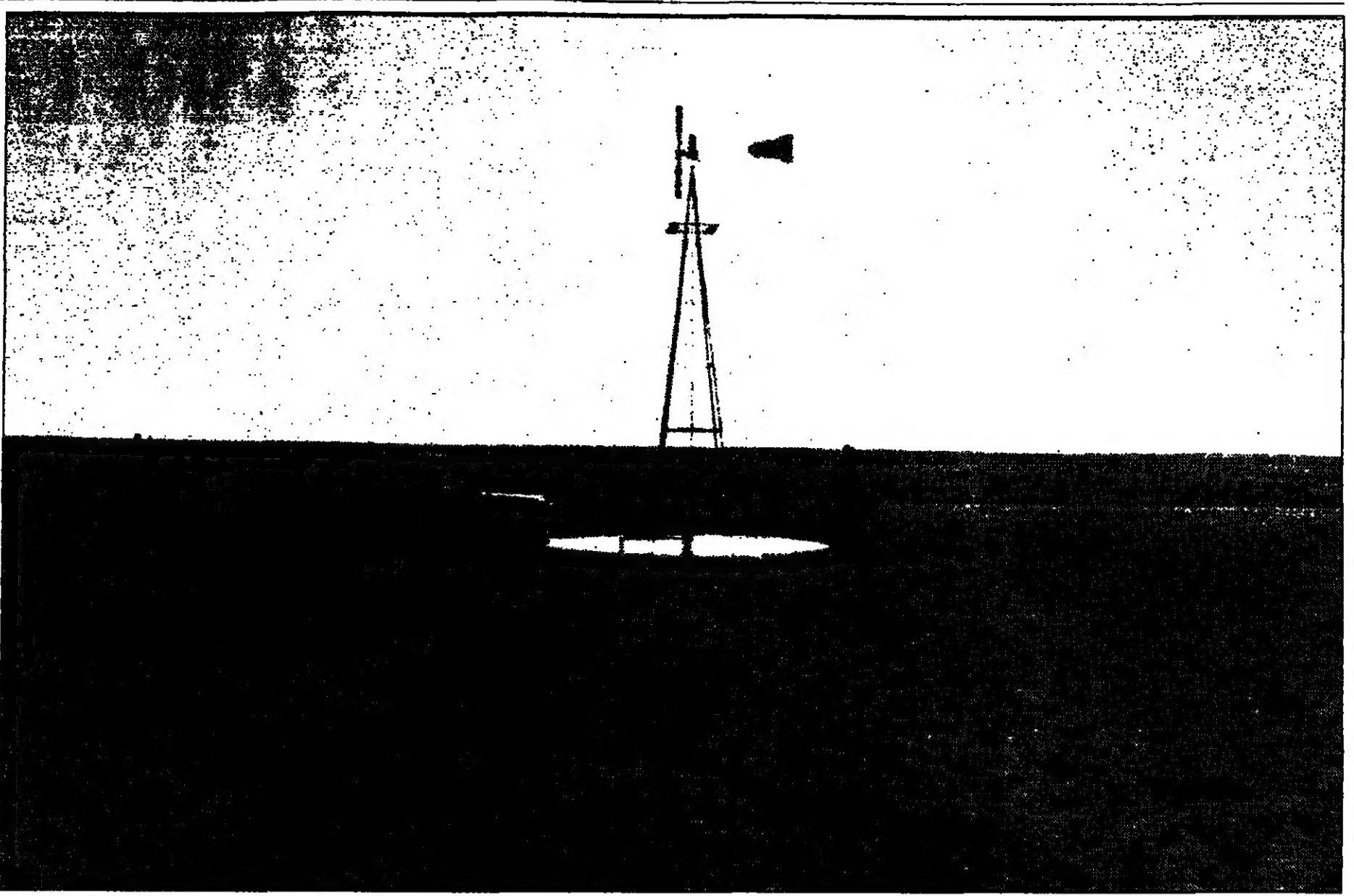
He said the ministers would review the levels if scientific advice changed, but unless that happened mothers should continue to feed the formula milk to their infants.

That view was backed by Guyana Lyons, scientific adviser to the World Wide Fund for Nature and a member of the government round-table investigating the chemicals.

The Infant and Dietetic Foods Association, representing manufacturers of baby milk mixes, argued that recent reports on phthalates were misleading and could cause "unnecessary alarm amongst mothers".

But Diane McRee, of the Consumers Association, said the handling of the discovery appeared outrageous. "Once again it seems the Government is ignoring the interests of consumers and their health, and putting the producers first."

Labour's consumer affairs spokesman, Nigel Griffiths, said: "We have the old tale of a government ministry cowering up to the producers and ignoring the concerns of consumers. The culture of cover-up means it is very difficult to get at the truth."



A farmer in Oklahoma surveys his parched land as fears grow that lack of rain will devastate the farming belt as it did in the Thirties (below)

PHOTOGRAPH: JIM WILSON

A harsh drought revives memories of the dust bowl as the farmers watch a life of hard work shrivel and die



Another time perhaps — but hauntingly familiar now in the farmers' faded blue overalls, in the cracked and lumpy hands that knead and twist the old baseball caps as the sun products of their lives are knocked down cheap at auction.

The cattle auctions in Texas have become nightmare scenes, running through the night and into dawn, each lot of cattle going for knockdown prices in 12 seconds. But there are always more farmers waiting outside to sell the herds they can no longer afford to feed.

"There isn't a cow in south Texas that will bring enough money to buy a ton of feed," said Johnny Williams of the Alice Feed supply firm in Alice, Texas.

Four out of every five cows being sold at the Texas auctions this year are pregnant. This startling figure means the farmers cannot even afford to feed the cows long



enough to let them calve and then sell two head rather than one.

This will mean a sharp rise in beef prices next year as the shortage of new calves affects the market prices. The market will adjust, it always does. It is just the farmers who can't.

Already suffering the second driest period since the Oklahoma Climatological Survey began keeping records in 1895, farmers in the Plains states watched what few stunted crops they had start to freeze as the temperature hit 105 degrees Fahrenheit last week.

"We got 70,000 farming families in this state, and at least 5,000 and maybe 10,000 of them are going bankrupt this year," said Dennis Howard, Oklahoma's farming commissioner. "Half of the state's farms are in critical financial shape."

Texas has now declared an emergency, saying that 40 per cent of the state is too arid for grazing, and has asked the federal government for special subsidies to help farmers to buy feed. It is the highest number of applications for emergency relief recorded by the agriculture department.

This is the third year of low rainfall for the Plains states, and the deep aquifers that normally can be tapped for irrigation in a dry year are at historically low levels. Last winter brought little relief.

San Antonio in Texas normally gets 16 inches of rain from October to April. Last winter, 3.5ins fell. The winter before that, 4ins.

The irony is that some farms are booming — in the west and east, where they have rain.

Grain prices are sky-high, doubling in the past 30 months to more than \$5 (£3.30) a bushel. Prices are driven up by the growing demands of China's vast markets, and now pushed even higher by the drought cutting into the expected harvest.

Even where there are crops, the Oklahoma Farm Commission reckons that this year will average between one and two bushels an acre, rather than the usual five bushels.

But in the vast swath of Plains states that make up the heartland, from the Texas scrub in the south through the old dust bowl of Oklahoma and Kansas and up into the prairie lands of Nebraska and the Dakotas, drought is stalking the land.

In the country towns of San Angelo and Childress, in the dry heat of west Texas, the mayors have issued official proclamations asking the citizens to head for their churches and pray for rain. Old farmers are recalling the hard years of the 1930s, when the topsoil blew away, but so thickly that it turned day into night, and the roads disappeared under drifts of dirt.

Those worst days of the dust bowl are unlikely to return. New ploughing techniques, drought-resistant grasses that hold down the topsoil and windbreaks of trees have been ordered by the agriculture department in the past 60 years, as the price of their farm subsidies.

But those subsidies are being phased out. This year's new farm bill will end the \$14 billion a year in farm support payments which the US agreed to give up in return for the Europeans reforming their agricultural subsidies.

Despite the subsidies and the appeals to Washington for help, these farm states like to talk of their spirit of sturdy independence. They usually vote for less government and more Republicans, such as that son of the dust bowl, Kansas Senator Robert Dole.

This year, even as their own Kansas farm boy seeks their vote, it will be President Clinton's administration that has to respond.

Chechen leader in Yeltsin talks

David Hearst in Moscow

THE Kremlin was warming up last night for the most audacious and unexpected initiative in the 17-month Chechen war. Today, or soon after, Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, the self-styled president of Chechnya, is due in Moscow for peace talks with President Boris Yeltsin.

No one knows how Mr Yandarbiyev and his delegation will get to Moscow or who will guarantee his security. Until recently he was on the Federal Security Service's assassination list.

But if the meeting comes off, it will be one of the most dramatic moments of Mr Yeltsin's re-election bid. He will appear as a peace-maker, responding to the public clamour for an end to the conflict.

The Chechen side confirmed yesterday that Mr Yandarbiyev would come to Moscow. Movlady Udugov, the rebel "information minister", said talks would take

place in Moscow today "or in the nearest future". He said they would focus on a ceasefire and troop withdrawal, rather than the status of the breakaway republic.

"The Chechen side, expressing the goodwill of the Chechen people, is coming to Moscow to consider the issue of stopping the war and establishing peace in the Caucasus region," he said.

Mr Yeltsin, on a visit to the Arctic mining settlement of Vorkuta, said: "I think we will reach an agreement on a full cessation of all armed conflict."

But General Pavel Grachev, his defence minister, disagreed saying the talks were doomed to failure.

General Vyacheslav Tikhomirov, the commander of Russian forces in Chechnya, urged rebel forces to lay down their arms. He claimed that the capture last week of Bamut had effectively ended direct resistance by rebel groups.

"It's not war", page 7

Woman swims to safety as ship founders off the Ayrshire coast

continued from page 1

Ms Crossan's cries reached Alastair Dick in his caravan as he was about to turn in at 1.15 am. "I heard her scream: 'Help me, help me. I need help now,'" Mr Dick, from Rutherglen in Strathclyde, said yesterday. After alerting the camp, he scrambled down to the foreshore where he and another holidaymaker found the woman semi-submerged in three feet of water.

"She could not move at all, she was in total shock," said Mr Dick. After being treated at the camp Ms Crossan, who

is believed to be related to an Equinox crew-member, was transferred to Ayr hospital.

Leo Murray, an accident and emergency consultant, said she was "tired and sore and exhausted" and being treated with antibiotics for a chest infection.

"To have survived that length of time in water is quite a triumph."

Life expectancy in the sea round the British coast is normally between 50 and 90 minutes. The overnight temperature in the Firth of Clyde would have been 10C.

Heir to the throne 'prefers to be just William'

Helen Nowicks

PRINCE William has reportedly told his parents he does not want to be king but would prefer to grow up as an ordinary citizen, according to weekend reports.

The heir to the throne has apparently said to the Prince and Princess of Wales that he wants to lead a normal life after seeing the intense public scrutiny his parents face daily. He has also indicated that he does not wish to fol-

low royal tradition by going into the navy.

According to the Sunday Mirror, Prince Charles was taken by surprise by his son's admission, while the Princess of Wales has advised him to wait before making up his mind.

The young prince, aged 13, has a reputation for shyness and has already had to cope with a barrage of close media attention.

Shortly before William started at Eton in September, Lord Wakeham, chairman of the Press Complaints Com-

mission, warned newspapers to respect his privacy.

However, when a large poster of Baywatch actress Pamela Anderson appeared on his locker the information somehow leaked out.

His teenage interest in the opposite sex has continued to receive substantial tabloid coverage, including an incident last year when he argued with a friend over a girlfriend of the Barbi twins Shane and Sia.

His mother, who was taking the boys to a rugby international at Cardiff, solved the

row by tearing the picture in two and giving each boy one blonde model apiece.

In October, after the prince attended a ball for teenagers, the Sun set up a telephone hotline asking partygoers to call in if they had "smatched a smacker" with him.

Buckingham Palace voiced strong concern and the Press Complaints Commission moved to prevent the paper using any material it had acquired.

Buckingham Palace was unable to comment yesterday on the prince's reluctance to

become king. However in his reticence to take the top job in his profession, William has placed king of the United Kingdom and head of the Commonwealth on a par with manager of England's football side and chairman of the country's cricket selectors, both notorious as poisoned chalice.

When Terry Venables announced he was standing down as England football manager after next month's Euro 96 championships, several successful managers made it clear they were not

interested, mindful of the curse that failure to deliver a string of victories attracts.

Venables has so far escaped the ridicule heaped on his predecessor Graham Taylor.

Ray Illingworth also antagonised England's cricket fans last week when it emerged he had repeated criticism of the fast bowler Devon Malcolm in his forthcoming book. Ironically, the player was also at the centre of another row when Ted Dexter, Illingworth's predecessor, showed he was out of touch by referring to him as "Malcolm Devon".

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4 BRITAIN

Opposition question Major over report of MI6 warning that Karadzic sources gave cheques to Tories

Serb cash challenge for PM

Richard Norton-Taylor and Michael White

LABOUR and the Liberal Democrats last night challenged John Major to confirm allegations that MI6 warned him as early as 1992 the Conservative Party was receiving five-figure cheques from Serbian sources linked to Radovan Karadzic, and to explain why further cheques were still being received as late as 1994.

In the wake of fresh allegations based, according to yesterday's Sunday Times, on information provided by intelligence sources and an unidentified MP, the Tory leadership urged the newspaper to provide "substantive" evidence of its claims.

Others newspapers, including the Guardian, have established that Zoran Tancic, a British citizen of Serbian extraction, did make donations — possibly in the £10,000-£30,000 range — and that two companies of which Mr Tancic was a director were on a United States blacklist for breaking UN sanctions during the Balkans war, though Mr Tancic has no known links with Mr Karadzic.

Nor was Mr Tancic named by the Sunday Times, which reported that Sir Colin McCool, former head of the Secret Intelligence Service, MI6, ordered his agents in 1992 to warn Mr Major his party was getting tens of thousands of pounds from Serbian sources linked to Mr Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader charged with war crimes.

Last night the shadow foreign secretary, Robin Cook, said he would press the Prime Minister to confirm that MI6 had warned a Tory MP working for the intelligence services during a tour of former Yugoslavia — had alerted Downing Street, and to explain, if so, "why the Conservative Party was still receiving in 1994 funds from a company on the US government's blacklist".

Saying there could be "no genuine grounds of national security" for not replying, Mr Cook complained it now looked as if the donation was "part of a pattern stretching over the years of Britain's military presence in Bosnia. No wonder MI6 was worried. Ordinary people too will be worried".

The Liberal Democrat leader, Paddy Ashdown, has already tried to extract sim-

ilar details from Mr Major, and has again written asking him to explain a "no doubt, unintentionally, ambiguous" reply in the Commons when the Prime Minister said he had not discussed such donations with civil servants for three years — part of Mr Major's drive to put distance between Downing Street and party funding.

The information which has now come to light is understood to have been passed to MI6 by an unnamed Tory MP in 1992. MI6 had already engaged in a telephone tapping operation as part of an investigation into British-based supporters of Mr Karadzic.

After receiving a report from an MI6 officer about the 1992 donation, Sir Colin wrote on the report: "This should be treated as a hot potato and should be passed immediately to the Prime Minister", the Sunday Times said. Yesterday it reported MI6 was later told Mr Major had received the warning and had ordered the money be returned.

The 1992 donation is believed to have been the first of a number linked to the Serbs. Further donations were made by Mr Tancic, who denies any involvement with Mr Karadzic or Serbian politicians.

contact with other drivers to defuse tense situations, and never leave the car if threatened.

Detectives hunting Mr Cameron's killer have released a man they had been holding for more than 17 hours. The murder squad was yesterday continuing the task of tracing almost 17,500 Land Rover Discovery vehicles.

News in brief

Police wait at mother's bedside

POLICE were yesterday waiting at the bedside of a young mother who was beaten senseless by schoolboys in front of her children. Marcia Onwuna, aged 22, was "drifting in and out of consciousness" and was under sedation in Liverpool Royal University Hospital, police said.

Detectives hoped to interview Miss Onwuna today about the attack in Croxteth Country Park, Liverpool, four days ago. She was punched and kicked in the head and left unconscious beside her terrified twin daughters, aged three.

She has regained consciousness sufficiently to identify her attackers as a gang of six teenage boys, believed to be from a local school.

Detective Inspector Nicholas Howley, leading the investigation, was preparing to interview 1,000 pupils from De La Salle School when classes resume on June 4.

Dip in Ulster tourism

THE IRA's London bombings have shaken Ulster's booming tourist trade. Inquiries for the first four months of 1996 fell by 40,000 compared with the same period a year ago, when the IRA ceasefire was still operating, according to a report.

But the number of people seeking information about when and where to stay in the province was still 23 per cent higher than in 1994. The Northern Ireland Tourist Board said: "We always knew the huge surge in interest was bound to level off, but there is no doubt the London bombings have had an impact."

Compared to 1995 when there were 149,000 inquiries between January and April, there were 109,000 for the same period this year. But plans for several new hotels are going ahead.

Health charges 'beat inflation'

HEALTH charges have risen faster than inflation, costing patients more than £8 billion since the Tories came to power. Labour claimed yesterday. Labour health spokesman, Henry McLeish, claimed the Government had pushed up charges for dentistry, prescriptions and eye checks.

Mr McLeish said £1.1 billion had been paid by patients in the UK since 1979. He claimed that £5.3 billion of this could have been saved if charges had risen only in line with inflation. He said this "hidden Tory health tax" had amounted to £292 million a year since 1979/80.

Everest climber missing

A SEARCH was under way yesterday for a British climber who disappeared after conquering Mount Everest. The Foreign Office said, Louis Herrod, aged 37, was with two South Africans who reached the 29,030-ft summit on Saturday.

All three, along with three Sherpa guides, reached their goal by the standard south-east ridge route. But Mr Herrod, a photographer believed to come originally from London and now resident in South Africa, became separated from his companions and failed to reach the summit camp.

At least 10 people have died on the mountain in this month.

Guernsey abortion row

GUERNSEY is about to become the last British outpost to legalise abortion. Acting nearly 20 years after the mainland, Guernsey's parliament, the States of Deliberation, will this week debate a proposal to repeal a 1910 law that makes having an abortion a crime punishable by life imprisonment.

It is bound to pass the measure, although it may be heavily amended. The draft law would still tightly control abortion, which would be permitted only when two doctors agree that there is a risk to the life or health of an expectant mother or foetus.

Pro-life campaigners have bombarded almost every household with pamphlets depicting what they see as the horrors of abortion. Pro-abortionists have fought back with petitions.

Howard 'record of defeat'

THE Liberal Democrats last night marked today's third anniversary of Michael Howard's appointment as Home Secretary with a claim that his nine judicial defeats had cost the taxpayer a legal bill of at least £300,000.

Despite "harsh words and hard posturing", Mr Howard had failed to curb crime, said his Liberal Democrat shadow and fellow GC, Alex Carlile. "He has the worst legal record of any minister with nine judgments against him in the last two years. He continues to refuse to tell us how much his legal bills have cost the country. An educated guess would put his legal bill at £300,000 or more." — Michael White

Blaze at star's home

THE £1 million home of the rock guitarist, Eric Clapton, aged 51, has been damaged by fire. He discovered the blaze in the new house in Chelsea, west London, and dialled 999 after returning from a night out with friends on Saturday.

It is understood it was caused by a faulty lighting circuit in the ceiling of the first floor. It took firefighters three hours to bring the blaze, which caused extensive damage, under control.

Speed signs cut crashes

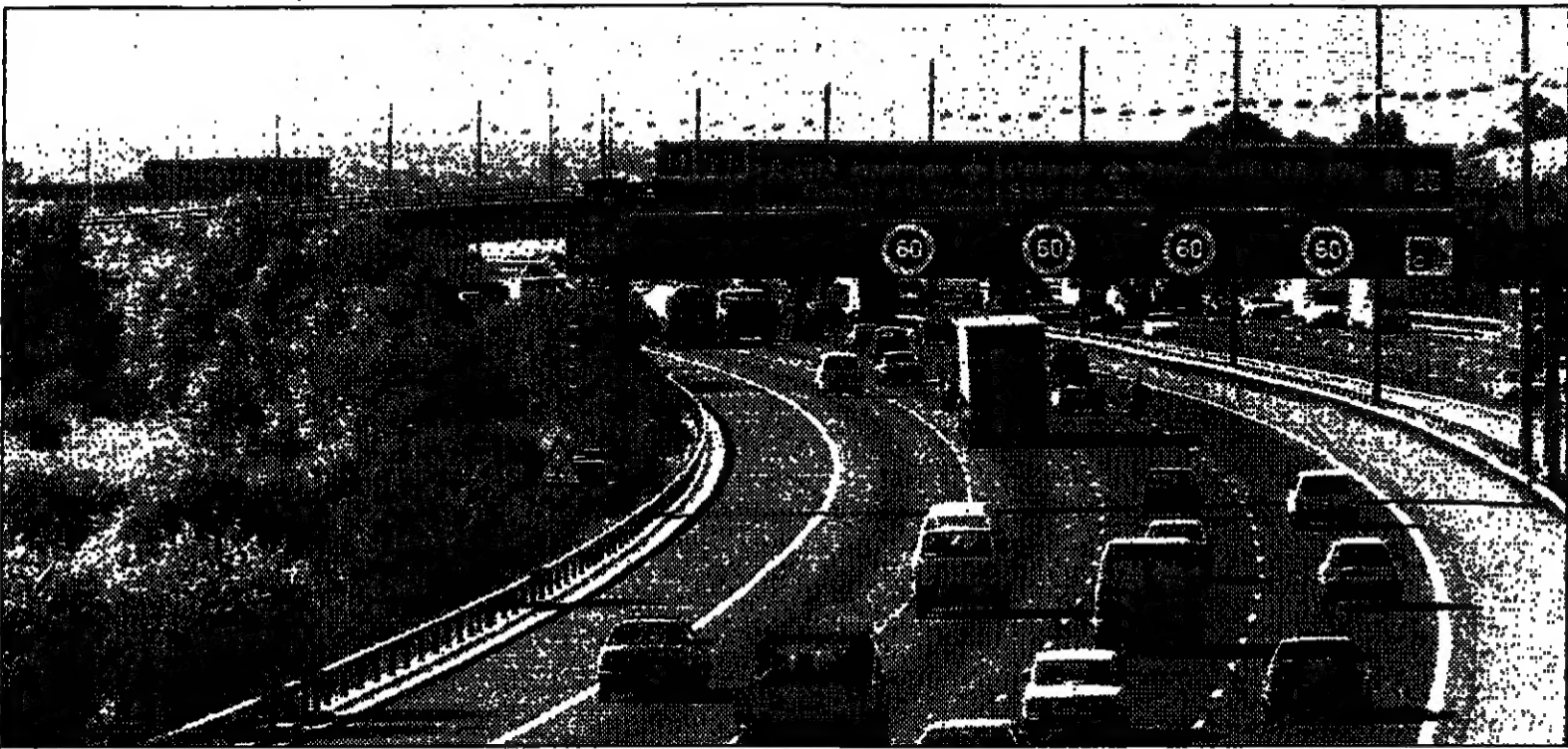
Keith Harper Transport Editor

AREMARKABLE cut of more than 20 per cent in the accident rate on the M25 has been achieved since variable speed trials were introduced by the Highways Agency last year.

The change, on a four-lane stretch of the M25 between Junctions 10 and 15, the turn-off for the M4 and Heathrow, is expected to become permanent. Other schemes are expected to be repeated in other parts of the country, but only on four-lane stretches.

The experiment was introduced last year. When traffic builds up the police turn on warning lights controlling speed limits to 50 or 60 miles an hour, depending on congestion.

The Highways Agency stressed yesterday that the data was still being assessed, but early indications are that the experiment had "achieved a considerable impact".



The M25 near the exit to Heathrow Airport. A four-lane stretch has seen a fall in accidents of more than 20 per cent. PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

Police figures covering accidents six months before and six months after the trial launch have shown a pattern of improvement. Drivers are becoming accustomed to leaving wider gaps between themselves and the vehicle in front, and traffic is flowing more freely, they report.

A police spokesman said yesterday: "With everybody determined to drive at the same speed, motorists cannot dodge from lane to lane and reckless behaviour has been minimised. We would like to think that it might help to control road rage."

● The Highway Code has been revised to include a section on how to deal with road rage, the Department of Transport confirmed yesterday, writes Gary Young.

A new edition of the driver's manual to be issued in July will include advice on how to avoid confrontation with other motorists. Driving examiners will be asked to fail those who show an inclination towards road rage.

Following the fatal stabbing of motorist Stephen Cameron in Kent last week, senior policemen will also be giving guidance for defusing verbal clashes.

The provisional advice suggests motorists should: take a walk after a stressed day to relax before driving; avoid tailgating, speeding, or running red lights; acknowledge a driving error that annoys other motorists; avoid eye

contact with other drivers to defuse tense situations, and never leave the car if threatened.

Detectives hunting Mr Cameron's killer have released a man they had been holding for more than 17 hours. The murder squad was yesterday continuing the task of tracing almost 17,500 Land Rover Discovery vehicles.

split between full-time work and unemployment. Almost a third of those who stayed at school went on to further or higher education, where the squeeze on grants had forced many parents to shoulder the costs — on average £25,640.

But teenagers still spent twice the national average on clothes, with boys spending more than girls.

Asda said yesterday: "Most teenagers do not have the means to keep up with trends. But marketers know they have more income available through their parents and so continue to target them."

And while the survey may stop at 21 the spending does not — with the average wedding costing £9,347.

Parents face a £66,000 bill to keep teenage offspring in the style to which they aspire

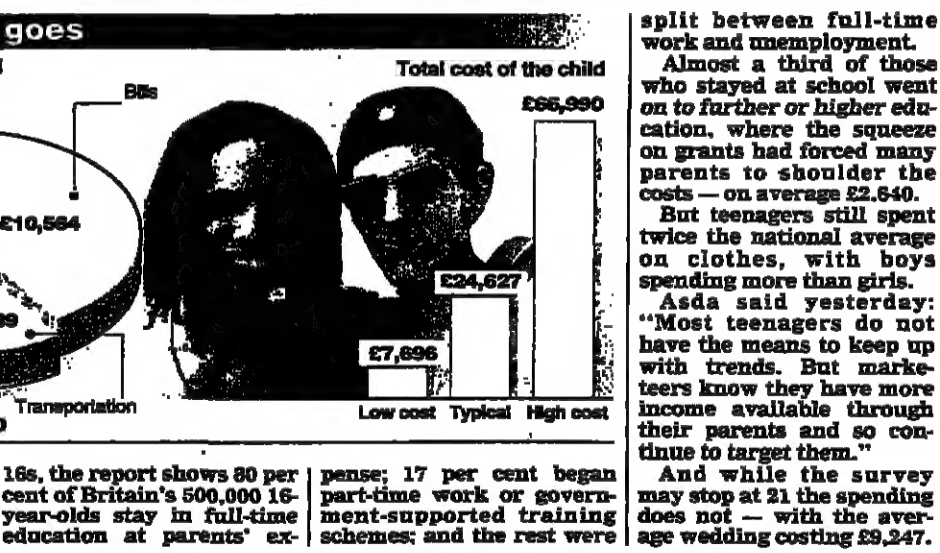
Gary Young

CHILDREN in their late teens can cost their parents up to £66,190 as they approach adulthood and enter higher education, according to a survey.

With cuts in student grants, driving lesson costs and increasing demands for a more stylish social life, parents typically shell out £24,461 on a child between the ages of 16 and 21, a report for the Asda supermarket chain revealed.

Using official statistics, the report, What price a child? Volume II, by consumer expert Jan Walsh, shows that some in that age group contribute to their upkeep, but most are by no means independent.

Even with child benefit, a teenager with everything — car, mobile phone, sizeable mortgage, lavish holidays and presents — will cost their parents £66,190. A "low cost" child who left school at 16, got a job, bought their own car and made a significant contri-



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July 20 1996

Opinion

Oxygen's head start for memory

Chris Millar
Medical Correspondent

FORGET so-called "smart" drugs which are meant to boost brain power — if you want to improve your memory take a whiff of oxygen.

Psychologists investigating ways to enhance mental functioning have found that inhaling pure oxygen for 60 seconds can double the number of words people can remember in tests.

They say there is a wealth of anecdotal reports from divers, doctors and pilots that oxygen can improve brain power and that it should be investigated as a way of helping people with memory deficiencies, such as those with Alzheimer's disease.

Andrew Scholey and Mark Moss of the psychology department at the university of Northumbria, Newcastle upon Tyne, who have been studying the roles of oxygen and glucose in affecting brain

chers state: "The results of this study support the hypothesis that oxygen administration enhances memory function."

Commenting on the studies, Dr Scholey said it appeared pure oxygen could increase the brain "ceiling" for memory retention. Although it was not clear how long such effects lasted, there should be much more research into the field as it could be a cheap way, without side effects, of helping people with memory problems.

"It does look as though oxygen acts as a 'smart' drug. Our interpretation, which at the moment is no more than a hunch, is that we are providing more fuel for brain areas involved in memory tasks, so temporarily raising the ceiling which limits cognition at a time when the brain needs energy to form new memories.

"This would be a bit like allowing a Mini to use aviation fuel as it accelerates from the traffic lights."

Dr Scholey said there had been numerous reports from people with access to oxygen, like divers and doctors, that it could increase memory — and also cure hangovers.

"There are lots of reports that oxygen makes people think more clearly. Many people seem prepared to spend money on the rather dubious concept of 'smart' drugs, but the effects of oxygen are far more powerful than anything reported for such products.

A lot of divers are reported to use oxygen during revision for tests, or if they are feeling muggy. There are stories that airline pilots on long-haul flights over the Atlantic play a game where they look at the list of passengers while taking a whiff of oxygen, then see how far back down the plane they can go getting the names right."

"There have been so many such anecdotal reports, I'm amazed nobody has looked at it before."

Dr Scholey added: "If we can raise the memory ceiling even temporarily it may be of benefit to people like the elderly, if it can reverse memory deficits. It may be temporarily possible to reverse conditions like Alzheimer's at a time when it is essential to learn new information.

"People who exercise regularly are said to do better on mental tasks — this may be because they are increasing their oxygen uptake."

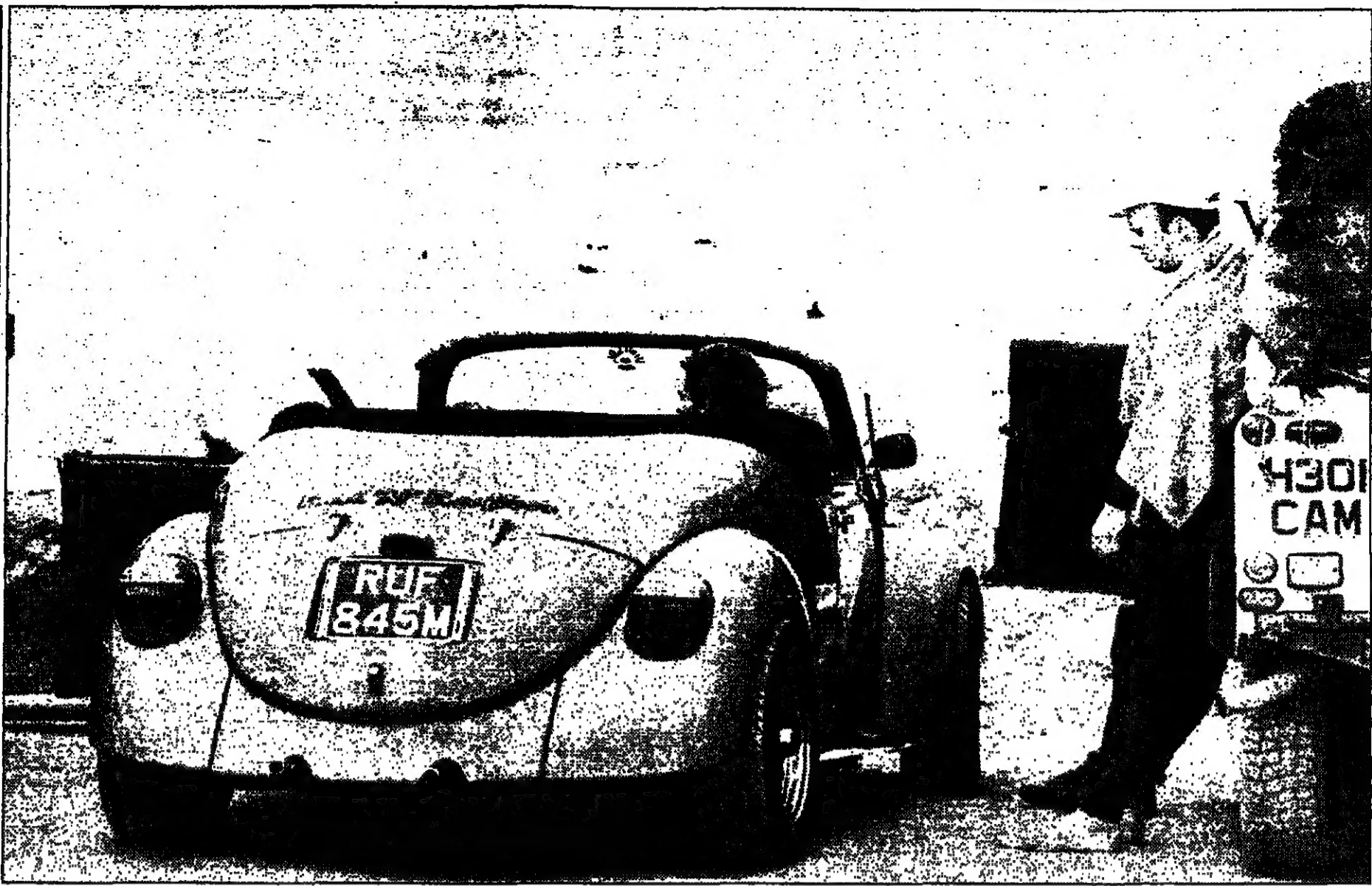
Research points way to relief of Alzheimer's disease — and hangovers

performance, knew that oxygen deficiency, such as experienced by mountain climbers, can severely affect the brain's performance. They then wondered if increasing oxygen levels above normal enhanced mental capacity.

They studied 46 students divided into three groups, who were either asked to breathe oxygen while learning a list of words, breathe oxygen while trying to recall the words, or breathe the normal air. Those given oxygen while learning were able to recall twice as many words as those breathing ordinary air, although there was no improved effect from breathing oxygen during the test itself.

In a second test, to disguise what was happening the students had to breathe through face masks for a minute, but did not know if they were receiving oxygen or ordinary air. Those given oxygen could recall more words.

Publishing the findings in the science journal *Psychopharmacology*, the reser-



Life's a beach... On the coast at Newquay, where the wetsuit has taken over from the bathing machine after 100 years in which tourism has replaced fishing. PHOTOGRAPHS: JOHN REDMAN

Hotel rises above Cornish tide of change

Geoffrey Gibbs examines the contrasting attractions offered to bank holiday visitors by two seaside resorts in the West Country

Pop or culture

- St Ives**
 - Main attractions: Tate gallery
 - Hopworth museum
 - Coastal paths
 - Stone age villages
 - Beaches
 - Winter population: 11,000
 - Peak summer population: 50,000
- Newquay**
 - Main attractions: beaches
 - Terrace Gardens
 - Seaside Centre
 - Waterworld/Zoo
 - Gannet estuary
 - Winter population: 20,000
 - Peak summer population: 120,000



Newquay

ALMOST 100 years ago rioting fishermen tried to prevent construction of an elegant hotel on a promontory above Newquay harbour.

Building work was destroyed and a foreman's hut tipped over the cliff as the fishing community vented its anger at the loss of land traditionally used for drying nets.

The hoteliers won, and the imposing Headland Hotel, which finally opened in 1900, still looks down on Fistral beach — a symbol of a century of change in Cornish life.

While the once flourishing fishing industry has gone into remorseless decline, tourism has come to play an ever more important part in the economic life of the county, with Newquay heavily dependent on it.

When the Headland was in its infancy the royal family used to take a floor for the summer season, gentry would be seen promenading in black tie, and bathing machines would be pulled to the water's edge to preserve women bathers' modesty.

Nowadays it is wetsuits rather than black tie at the resort. Newquay revels in its claim to have Europe's finest surfing beaches, and the town is a magnet for enthusiasts.

Surfing hostels have sprung up to cater for the mainly younger weekend visitors who can be seen on the beach in all seasons.

Fistral — the most famous of Newquay's 11 beaches — played host to the world life-saving championships two years ago, and is a regular venue for surfing competitions. Enthusiasts were gathering over the weekend for the European Pro Surf competition.

For Peter Newman down from London for the bank holiday, surfboards strapped to the roof of his car, the big attraction of Newquay is the number of beaches off the wind or swell is wrong in one place there is always the opportunity of finding good surf on a beach facing a different direction.

The night life is also good, he said.

Standing on Fistral as prep-

St Ives

THIRTY miles by road from Newquay more cerebral pursuits are the main draw to the world renowned artists' colony of St Ives, where painters have been drawn for more than a century.

Now visitors pour in by the coachload to soak up the atmosphere that pulled Turner and Whistler and later Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth to the small Cornish fishing port.

Many come just to wander the narrow streets in the compact town centre around the harbour where numerous studios and galleries stand alongside quaint tea rooms and shops selling handmade fudge.

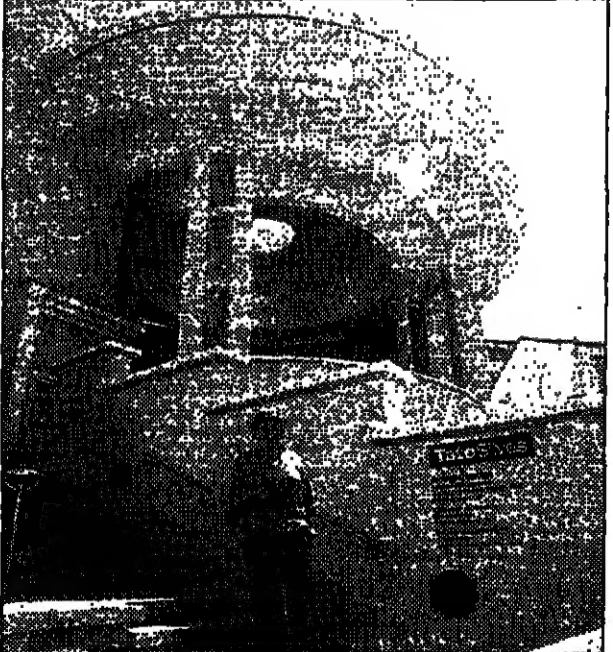
And then there is the Tate, the best thing that ever happened to St Ives, according to Keith Varnals, chairman of the St Ives Hotel and Guest House Association. Currently featuring the work of the American abstract expressionist Mark Rothko the gallery has proved a huge

economic boost to the town since it opened three years ago, with some traders reporting a 20 per cent lift in business.

Mr Varnals, who has been in the trade for more than 30 years, says times have changed since the days when the local council used to put away the deck-chairs and shut up shop in the second week of September. Now places are open all the year round.

He had never bothered to install central heating in his 10-bedroom hotel, as he was never open for business during the cold weather. But he took a gamble when the Tate opened and has already paid back the considerable outlay.

Though St Ives is blessed with fine beaches of its own and attracts large numbers of families in the peak season, much of its trade comes from visitors interested in its largely unspoiled old world charm, its galleries and the surrounding countryside. "The people we get now want the coastal walks and the heritage," Mr Varnals says.



The Tate gallery at St Ives, which hotel owners credit with making a big contribution to the town's fortunes

arations were made for the weekend's competition he was philosophical about the unpleasant trail of brown sludge that marked the sewage outflow at Headland Point. "You learn not to open your mouth when you fall in."

But Newquay does not live by surf alone. Families and couples on their annual break account for a huge slice of the town's annual income, and these is plenty away from the seven miles of sandy beaches to keep them occupied.

Walkers and birdwatchers are drawn to the paths that run along the tidal Gannel estuary, and families wanting to escape rain, or sand in their sandwiches, can always turn to the town's Sea Life Centre or the bloodcurdling Tunnels Through Time wax-work museum of Cornish history.

With its bustling streets and vibrant feel, but tourism officials are keen to ensure that its place as the country's fourth most popular resort, behind Blackpool, Bournemouth and Great Yarmouth, does not allow it to become too trashy.

"We offer a typical British resort holiday. It's what a lot of people still want," says Jack Johnston, marketing officer for the borough of Cornwall's tourism and leisure department. "We have improved the town's wet weather facilities but you have to be very careful how far you take it. You have to strike a balance and not get over commercial."

Murder case lifers battle on

Duncan Campbell
Crime Correspondent

EXACTLY a year after a police informer confessed that he had evidence that would free two men serving life for murder, a police investigation into his claims has still to be completed. The men's lawyers are pressing the Home Office for a response and seeking a judicial review.

Reg Dudley, aged 70, and Bob Maynard, aged 58, were jailed at the Old Bailey for the murders of Billy Moseley and Micky Cornwall in 1978. All four were part of north London's criminal fraternity. One of the chief prosecution witnesses was a convicted armed robber, Tony Wild, who claimed he had heard them confess to their crimes. The two men always claimed to be innocent.

Last May, Wild, now a born-

again Christian living in the south of England, admitted to the Guardian that he had lied in court to get a smaller sentence for his own offences. He said that he had never had any information as to whether Maynard and Dudley were guilty. After the interview, he wrote to the Home Office offering to give evidence at an appeal.

There was a delay of several weeks before Wild was contacted by police and he was having given the interview at a time when he was present. She advised him to make no comment. By this stage his nerve had failed him and he would not even confirm having given the interview.

The recording of which the Guardian possesses. He was unhappy that there was such a delay between his initial confession and the police interview. The Home Office said that a final report on the investigation was still pending.

Briefly the case against the men was this: that Dudley and Maynard, the former with convictions for violence, had murdered Moseley, a small-time villain, and Cornwall, a bank robber.

The suggested motives for the murder of Moseley were that he was having an affair with someone's wife (the husband was charged and cleared), that he knew of some hidden jewellery belonging to Dudley or that he had called Dudley an informer.

Cornwall was a friend of Moseley and the suggestion was that he had sought to avenge his friend's death and had been duly killed himself.

The case against the men was circumstantial. But the prosecution alleged that they had a motive and that they had made incriminating remarks after their arrest. They had also, it was claimed, boasted of their crime while

awaiting trial in Brixton prison to a fellow inmate, Wild.

Of the seven charged, three were cleared and four convicted. Maynard and Dudley were jailed for life with the judge recommending that they should serve a minimum of 15 years — a minimum long since passed. There was an unsuccessful appeal.

Because the men continue to protest their innocence, they are deemed not to have come to terms with their crime and not to show sufficient remorse for their release. Dudley was recently moved to a secure prison from an open prison and is contesting this move through a judicial review.

Yesterday, his legal representative, Helen Leadbeater, said: "It appears that because they still continue to protest their innocence they have prejudiced the chance of being released on licence."

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THEATRES

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THE YOUNG TRAVELLERS

Israeli lions bare claws for viewers

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

THE MAIN candidates for power in Wednesday's Israeli general election last night demonstrated their mastery of evasion in a national televised debate.

The prime minister, Shimon Peres, urged voters to support his government's peace accords with the Palestinians, while his rightwing rival, the Likud leader, Benjamin "Bibi" Netanyahu, accused the Labour-led coalition of encouraging violence.

Both sides claimed victory in the verbal clash, but most commentators believe that it ended in a no-score draw.

The prime minister was heavily stage-managed. The questions had been submitted in advance and the programme was taped several hours before it was broadcast.

Both candidates in Israel's first-ever direct election for prime minister were forced

attack will happen today. Mr Peres, you brought our security situation to a nadir and this is the direct result of your terrible policy, which placed the war against terror, the security of our children, in the hands of [the PLO chairman Yasser] Arafat," he said.

Mr Netanyahu, who has been married three times, fended off the question of his self-confessed affair more than three years ago. "It hurt me, it hurt my wife, it hurt my family. It was a mistake," he said.

He was more indignant when asked about his name change, while a young man living in the US, from Netanyahu to Netanyahu. He had never considered settling in America, he insisted.

Mr Peres was asked whether, at 72, age was a handicap for him. "If you had to elect a male model and not a prime minister, then the age would be an issue," he replied.

With just 72 hours to go to polling, Israel has shut its doors to almost all Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to prevent any potential attempt by Islamist extremists to disrupt the election. No workers will be permitted to enter Israel and all trade has been temporarily halted.

Israel's borders have been closed to most Palestinians since suicide bombings in late February and early March killed 63 people. But since then there had been some easing of the rules to let some older Palestinians go to work inside Israel and allow the transfer of goods.

Now the shipment of goods in and out of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has also been halted. Exceptions will be made only for senior Palestinian officials and medical emergencies, the army said yesterday.

"We were expecting this before the elections," the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, said of the new restrictions. "We hope that after the elections everything will be removed. ... What is important is for the peace process to continue."

Israelis were urged yesterday to leave their guns at home when they vote. "The central elections committee appeals to the electorate to come to polling stations without any weapons, bags or packages — if possible," the group overseeing the campaign and balloting said in newspaper advertisements.

Many Israelis, especially settlers in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, are licensed to carry weapons for self-defence.

'Jerusalem will remain Israel's united capital for eternity,' Mr Peres said

on to the defensive. Mr Peres repeatedly denied the accusation that he is prepared to repartition Jerusalem, while Mr Netanyahu was obliged to parry questions about his admitted adultery, his reported adoption of a new, less Israeli, name while in America, and his party's equivocal stance on Jewish settlement in the Palestinian territories.

Mr Peres said that the choice was not between right and left, but between going forward with the peace process, or going back to the era of Jewish settlements and the Intifada (the Palestinian uprising).

The prime minister accused the Likud leader of "a terrible libel" in saying that he, Mr Peres, wanted to redive Jerusalem to give the Palestinians a capital. "Jerusalem will remain Israel's united capital for eternity, and only the capital of Israel. We used Jerusalem and we will remain united behind it," he said.

Mr Netanyahu said the peace process had brought neither peace nor security, and obliquely charged the government with encouraging suicide bombings. "Our children are afraid to get on a bus. Many of you who are getting up in the morning and asking yourselves whether the next

Jerusalem Diary, page 9



A Spanish bullfighter, Christina Sanchez, aged 24, delights the crowd after her graduation in the traditional 'alternativa' ceremony on Saturday to become the first woman matador in Europe. PHOTOGRAPH: PATRICK GARDIN

Opposition likely to deliver Moi Kenya's presidency on a plate

Despite the country's evident crisis, its leader is sitting pretty thanks to his divided rivals, writes **Chris McGreal** in Nairobi

PRESIDENT Daniel arap Moi's election prospects should not be bright, given the state of Kenya. Unemployment is rife, power rationing is routine, public services are in disarray, the auditor-general is unable to account for 2400 million of government funds; the roads are atrocious; and violent crime is soaring.

Above all, Kenyans are disillusioned with their society's deepening moral decay. Last week, Amnesty International accused Kenya of having the worst record of torture in Africa.

But Mr Moi is a happy man. He is not deluding himself when he says he can expect to be re-elected president at least until the turn of the century. Some of his cohorts are even talking of reviving a title thought to have been buried in Africa: president-for-life.

For all of this, Mr Moi can thank the opposition. A year after Richard Leakey, Kenya's controversial white conservationist, leapt



Richard Leakey (above) unnerved the government with his effort to unite opponents of President Moi (below)

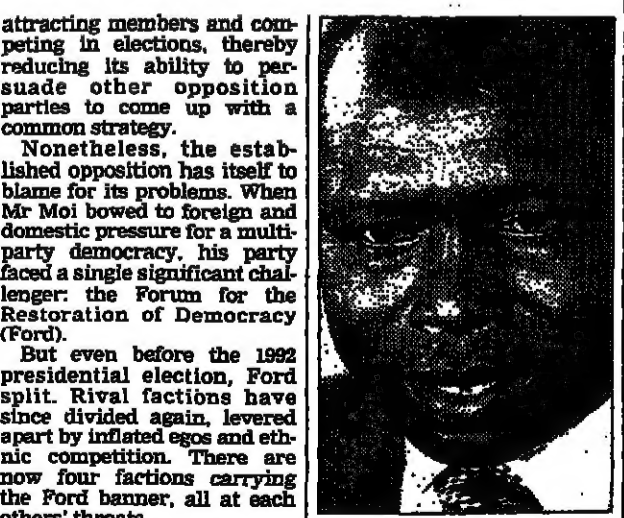
attracting members and competing in elections, thereby reducing its ability to persuade other opposition parties to come up with a common strategy.

Nonetheless, the established opposition has itself to blame for its problems. When Mr Moi bowed to foreign and domestic pressure for a multiparty democracy, his party faced a single significant challenge: the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Ford).

But even before the 1992 presidential election, Ford split. Rival factions have since divided again, levered apart by inflated egos and ethnic competition. There are now four factions carrying the Ford banner, all at each others' throats.

Ford-Kenya is so divided that a national conference two weeks ago degenerated into a pitched battle in which delegates attacked one another with clubs and axes.

Some of the opposition's more sober thinkers have already concluded that an alliance is unachievable. "They are heading nowhere," said Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, one of Fort-Kenya's most respected politicians. "Instead of the opposition wasting time forming alliances to get a single presidential candidate, let us unite and effect constitutional change to make the one who



to work it must be inclusive and not exclusive," Mr Leakey said. "There is clear evidence a lot of people won't go along unless it is dominated by their characters."

Some of the opposition's more sober thinkers have already concluded that an alliance is unachievable. "They are heading nowhere," said Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, one of Fort-Kenya's most respected politicians. "Instead of the opposition wasting time forming alliances to get a single presidential candidate, let us unite and effect constitutional change to make the one who

garners at least 50 per cent of the votes become president."

Such an amendment would force a single opposition candidate to emerge from a first round of balloting to fight a run-off election.

It is unlikely to happen. In 1992 Kenya's first-past-the-post system permitted Mr Moi to slip back into office with just one-third of the ballot.

Opposition infighting has also eased international pressure on Mr Moi. In March, Britain and other large donors promised nearly \$200 million in aid, effectively backing away from demands for a level political playing field in Kenya.

The International Monetary Fund is also handing over money again, even though its demands for an end to pork-barrel projects and for prosecution in Kenya's worst corruption scandals have received only a cursory response.

Diplomats in Nairobi say the shift is a recognition that they will be dealing with Mr Moi for the foreseeable future.

The president is not without his problems. The ruling party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), has its own divisions. Aside from the usual manoeuvring for position within the cabinet, there is an unofficial competition for the vice-presidency, which is seen as the most likely route to Mr Moi's office.

The infighting is partly born of the party's confidence that it will win the next election. KANU's powerbrokers have their eye on the first poll of the next century.

Its main preoccupation is not so much to return Mr Moi, but how to win a two-thirds majority in parliament, which would give it a free hand to amend the constitution. Some of Mr Moi's most powerful aides are talking of an amendment to anoint him president-for-life.

Armed robbers in Nairobi shot and killed a United Nations driver in broad daylight as he was returning from the airport with a passenger he had just picked up.

A statement from the Kenya office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees said Peter Otieno Ongido was shot on Friday by one of three men in a car that pulled up alongside his vehicle.

Tourism is down by as much as 20 per cent on previous years, and the government blames media reports about violent crime. — AP.

News in brief

Albanian parties allege poll fraud

ALBANIA'S main opposition Socialist Party said it had withdrawn from yesterday's general election because of "terror" and manipulation of the poll by the ruling Democratic Party.

"We do not recognise the result of the elections whatever it is," the Socialist Party spokesman, Kasriot Islami, told journalists. "With the full knowledge of the president of the republic, the vote has been controlled and directed by the police, the secret police and gangs of the [ruling] Democratic Party." Mr Islami said.

The centre-right Democratic Alliance, the third-biggest grouping in the last parliament, also said it was withdrawing, as did the centre-left Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Party of the Right.

Albania's president, Sali Berisha, last night rejected allegations of poll manipulation by his ruling party and vowed that ballots would be counted honestly.

Mr Berisha, speaking on state television, said the Socialists had withdrawn from the former communist state's third free election because they knew they had lost. — *Reuters, Thirana.*

Bokassa backs mutineers

JEAN-BEDEL BOKASSA, the ageing ex-emperor of the Central African Republic, yesterday voted support for an eight-day-old army mutiny and lambasted France for sending in troops to prop up President Ange-Félix Patasse.

"I support the mutineers 100 per cent," Mr Bokassa — who was ousted by the French in 1979 — told French television. "If I can be their adviser, I will be and I am. I regret having to watch France destroying my country. Even if it should lead to civil war, I am on the mutineers' side and I condemn France and [French President Jacques] Chirac's decision."

The rebels yesterday rejected a call to return to barracks after the head of the loyalist presidential guard, whose sacking they had demanded, was promoted to general.

Mr Bokassa seized power in 1966 and ruled for 13 years. He crowned himself emperor in 1977, but was ousted in a French-backed coup in 1979. Returning from exile in 1986, he served six years in jail for murder and fraud, after a trial during which he was also accused of cannibalism and infanticide. — *Reuters, Paris.*

Junta challenged

AMID growing popular defiance of Burma's military regime, Aung San Suu Kyi yesterday opened an opposition congress in Rangoon that the government had tried to stop by arresting hundreds of her supporters.

Later, 6,000 people gathered outside the opposition leader's compound to hear her speak. It was the biggest such crowd in years.

Ms Suu Kyi and other opposition leaders said they had grown tired of waiting for the ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) to meet their appeals for dialogue.

"The SLORC should make up all the promises they have broken," Ms Suu Kyi said.

She opened the conference with a speech that marked her biggest challenge to the ruling junta since her release last July from six years of house arrest.

At least 225 people present to be delegates to the conference were arrested last week in an effort to prevent the meeting, which marks the sixth anniversary of elections in 1990, the results of which the junta refused to honour. — *AP, Rangoon.*

Bulgarians mob king on tour

ECSTATIC royalists mobbed and kissed Bulgaria's King Simeon II (right) as he toured Sofia's lavish Orthodox churches yesterday, the second day of his triumphant return from 50 years of exile. Up to half a million people turned out to welcome Simeon, a Madrid business consultant, and his Spanish aristocrat wife Margarita. Crowds were said to dwarf even the pro-democracy demonstrations that overthrew the Communist dictator Todor Zhivkov in 1989.

Newspapers were embellished with photographs of Simeon weeping with joy and Bulgarians climbing atop buses and trams to catch a glimpse of the monarch, who fled Bulgaria as a child in 1946 after the Soviet Red Army installed a puppet Communist regime.

The socialist government treated him as a private citizen and avoided public contact. President Zhelev marked the delicacy of Simeon's standing by inviting him to lunch in his private quarters — not his official residence.

Despite the outpouring of support, opinion polls show fewer than 20 per cent of Bulgarians want a restoration. — *Reuters, Sofia.*



France mourns dead monks

CHURCH BELLS tolled across France yesterday as the country mourned seven French Trappist monks murdered by Algerian Muslim fundamentalist guerrillas.

As the bells of Paris's Notre-Dame cathedral rang the slow death toll, Archbishop Jean-Marie Lustiger read seven candles, first lit a month ago by Christian, Muslim and Jewish clerics, to keep alive hopes for the release of the monks, kidnapped two months ago from the monastery near Medea, south of Algiers. The archbishop had blown them out one by one on Thursday, after Algeria's Armed Islamic Group said the monks' throats had been slit because France refused to negotiate a release of prisoners.

Algeria's outlawed fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) has condemned the killings as running counter to Islam. The FIS in his weekly address at St Peter's Square, said he was deeply saddened by the monks' death, but hoped their work would help heal Algeria's divisions. It also deplored the killings, which it said were not the work of Islamist guerrillas.

Meanwhile, a court in Medea sentenced 19 Muslim militants to death, seven of them in absentia, for involvement in guerrilla activities, the official Algerian news agency APS said yesterday. — *Reuters, Paris, Tehran and Vatican City.*

Greek Cypriots vote

GREEK CYPRIOTS turned out in force yesterday for parliamentary elections likely to set a policy for reunifying the war-torn island. One hour before voting was due to end at 6pm, an official announcement said more than 85 per cent of the 410,000 registered voters had cast their ballots to choose the 56 MPs.

None of the seven parties contesting the election was expected to win more than a third of the vote. That will play a determining role in forging alliances for the 1998 presidential election.

All but one of the parties support reunification based on a United Nations plan for a two-zone, two-community federation. A new rightwing party, New Horizons, which rejects the plan, is likely to emerge with a key role in future alliances if opinion polls giving it 5 per cent of the vote prove correct. — *AP, Nicosia.*

Test-case drug user arrested

A CANADIAN who has multiple sclerosis was arrested at Amsterdam's Schiphol airport yesterday after trying to board a flight to Toronto with a kilogram of marijuana, which he said he used to alleviate his suffering.

Grant Krieger, aged 41, made no attempt to hide the drugs, which he said he had obtained on the advice of a doctor, a spokesman for the military police said. He would be put on the next flight to Canada.

Mr Krieger had already told the authorities in Toronto he was coming with the drugs, in a case aimed at testing whether the Canadian authorities were prepared to accommodate the chronically and terminally ill who use marijuana to alleviate their suffering. He will probably face use of marijuana in the Netherlands, where the authorities do not prosecute for small-scale possession and use of marijuana. — *AP, Amsterdam.*

Scots let woman take on 'heavies'

John Aglionby in Jakarta

AN OUTPOST of Scottish tradition waved its flag in the shadow of the Indonesian capital's soaring skyscrapers yesterday when the expatriate community hosted the 22nd Jakarta Highland Gathering.

At what is claimed to be the largest event of its kind outside Scotland, organisers allowed a woman to compete in the "heavy" events for the first time.

Tossing the caber, throwing a 55 lb weight over a bar, and throwing the 16 lb hammer are usually restricted to muscle-bound men whose only semblance of femininity is the kilt they wear.

But when Alison Wood, a former Oxford blue hammer thrower, aged 23, asked to take on the four "heavies" imported from the Highlands, the organisers could find no good reason to say no. The co-ordinator, Jason Morris, said: "I've never heard of this happening before but she seems to be pretty serious, so we thought why not."

Ms Wood is not small. She is 6ft tall and weighs 11 stone. But next to the 6ft 9ins and 17 stone frame of fellow competitor Bruce Aitken, she looked tiny.

Never having thrown a Highlands hammer (a 16 lb

iron bell on the end of a wooden shaft), Ms Wood was not anticipating breaking any records. "I'm in it purely for fun. I'm not expecting to come anywhere but last," she said.

There was no upset. Ms Wood came last with a distance of 40ft, whereas Mr Aitken shattered the ground record, and almost killed an unsuspecting highland dancer, with a throw of 130ft 7ins.

The caber competition almost never happened, according to the games committee chairman, Norman Campbell. "When it was brought in from Scotland, in 1975, the authorities refused to allow the caber through customs," he said.

"It had to be flown back to Britain, shipped out to the Java sea and rolled overboard. A few hours later it drifted ashore in north Jakarta and has been used ever since."

Jakarta's gathering has developed into an international extravaganza. In addition to the "heavy" and athletic events, and the dancing and piping competitions, there were Maori war dancers, Australian log choppers and stone jumpers from the island of Nias, off west Sumatra. This was a demonstration of a centuries-old manhood

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Mr Leakey's renowned incorruptibility, his success in reviving Kenya's wildlife industry and his ability to provide a new face among the professional politicians shook voters from their apathy. Mr Moi ran scared. His denunciations of the conservationist as a racist intent on re-establishing colonial rule made little impact.

But the government's refusal to register Mr Leakey's party, Safina, proved an effective if crude method of preventing it from

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Mrs Clinton drops baby bombshell

Martha Walker in Washington

AMERICA'S best-known career woman has stunned the country and shifted the focus of her husband's presidential election campaign. In an interview in today's Time magazine, Hillary Clinton said she thought it would be "terrific" to have another baby, and that she and President Clinton were discussing an adoption.

Mrs Clinton, aged 48, told Time that she would be "surprised but not disappointed" to be pregnant again. Her husband's Republican challenger, Robert Dole, will be a grandparental 73 next month.

The prospect of the White House echoing the steps of the first First Lady — the John-John and Caroline Kennedy charmed America 35 years ago quite derailed the latest Republican television advertising campaign, designed to remind voters of Mr Clinton's avoidance of the Vietnam draft and his reputation for womanising.

"I must say we're hoping that we have another child," Mrs Clinton said. "My friends would be appalled, I'm sure. But I think it would be terrific."

Asked if she would consider adoption, she replied: "We continue to talk about it because we really believe in adoption. We'd have to think hard about it, especially if it were an older child — the pressures of the White House on a child like that. We've thought about it."

"I think we're talking about it more now. We'd obviously want to get serious about it until after the election."

"I just think that giving a child a chance and sharing what you have with a child is one of the greatest gifts you can give yourself, as well as the child. So I hope something will come of our thinking about it."

"I have worked hard to do to promote adoption, particularly for older kids and across racial lines and kids with special needs," she went on; she and Mr Clinton, who already have a daughter, Chelsea, aged 16, had "not yet gone into that kind of detail".

Mrs Clinton gave the pre-arranged interview last week, just as the Republicans launched an ad campaign to mock an attempt by the president's lawyers to delay a sexual harassment lawsuit by alleging that as commander-in-chief he is a military man on active duty.

"You're in the army now," begins the soundtrack, as the screen shows press headlines saying "Clinton dodges suit, says he's in military."

"Bill Clinton, he's really something," marvels the voice-over, as the screen shows an overweight Mr Clinton jogging and cycling with his wife, and then dressed in camouflage gear, carrying a shotgun and two dead ducks. "Active duty? Bill Clinton? He's really something," the ad concludes.

The first in a barrage of hostile commercials by both sides that are starting unusually early in the campaign. The Republican ad brings together the two embarrassments of Mr Clinton's 1992 campaign — the Vietnam draft and his reputation for cavalier sexual behaviour.

The Democrats demanded that the Republicans withdraw the ad as a misrepresentation of the president's case in trying to delay the sexual harassment suit brought by Paula Jones, a former Arkansas state employee. Ms Jones claims then-governor Clinton tried to use the power of his office to induce her to perform oral sex on him.

The Republicans' attack on Mr Clinton's military claims is being stepped up this Memorial Day weekend, the United States equivalent of Remembrance Day.

Four winners of the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest award for bravery, have written an open letter to the president, asking him to withdraw his legal plea. The letter, being published today on a full page in newspapers across the country, says: "To retreat from the call to arms and then later to embrace its code when it is convenient is an outrage to all who served and those who remember the loss of those who paid the ultimate price."

'We're not peacekeepers, we're not soldiers. It's not war. It's incomprehensible'

Russian troops in Chechnia are scornful; conscripts are tired and scared, writes James Meek in Grozny

THE captain had a bandanna wrapped tightly round his head. They keep the scorching Caucasian sun off and soak up sweat — but more than anything, it is a style thing for Russian troops in Chechnia.

As he swigged bottled beer at a kiosk, and stared out across the concourse of Grozny airport, he said: "We don't know what we're supposed to be doing here. We're not peacekeepers, we're not soldiers. It's not war. It's incomprehensible."

The captain, Oleg, is a career officer, aged 34, in an interior ministry unit from Khabarovsk near the Chinese border. He has just arrived in Grozny for a four-month tour of duty like most Russian soldiers in Chechnia. He is baffled by and contemptuous of the entire enterprise.

"People are fed up with the war. If Russia needs Chechnia, root and branch measures should be taken. Why the troops are here at all is very difficult to understand," he said.

Estimates of the strength of Russian forces in Chechnia vary from 20,000 to 100,000. In the daytime they roar along the dusty roads in armoured troop carriers. By night they huddle in tents, dugouts and concrete anthills of slabs and rubble, drinking and hurling machine-gun bullets and grenades out into the darkness at their unseen enemy.

They feel betrayed by the powers that be. They are still loyal to Russia, but only nominally to President Boris Yeltsin, whom many loathe. Most fly the red Soviet flag rather than the Russian one.

Their losses are high and — as in Afghanistan — it is their suffering, more than that of

the Chechen civilian casualties, that angers the Russian people and will cost Mr Yeltsin dear in the June elections.

Captain Oleg's unit has lost 20 men in the last eight months — 14 in a single day, March 6, when a supply convoy they were escorting was ambushed by rebels.

Nikolai, a sergeant-major in a unit of Omon riot police from the Moscow region, was manning a checkpoint outside the town of Urus-Martan. This was his fourth tour of duty since the war began 17 months ago. Omon units used to rotate through Chechnia on 45-day tours. Now this has been bumped up to 90 days. If they refused to go, they would be sacked.

The situation is worse for the conscripts. Even if President Yeltsin's recent decree saying no more drafts will be sent to conflict zones is implemented immediately, huge numbers of conscripts are already serving in Chechnia. They are waiting for the enactment of another decree supposedly issued by Mr Yeltsin, which says conscripts who have been to Chechnia only have to serve one and a half years instead of the usual two.

"What could we do? There was no alternative," said Eduard, an interior ministry sergeant from the Buddhist republic of Tuva on the Mongolian border.

"You could sign a piece of paper saying you didn't want to go to Chechnia, but then you'd have to serve two years." Conscripts get no home leave and no chance to telephone home. The mail is erratic. They are paid about \$6 a month. Their training is minimal: "We were taught how to shoot," one said.

Another conscript, a frightened youngster recovering from shrapnel wounds at a military hospital, was chased back inside by a senior doctor before he could give his name. He said he had not known where he was being sent until he arrived in Chechnia. He had not spoken or heard from his family in five months and did not know if they knew where he was.

"We're really tired of it," he said. "It's not just that we're fighting, we're really tired."



Time out from war... A Russian soldier relaxes in Bamut, Chechnia, during a lull in a bombardment of separatist forces. The rebels' leader is to meet Mr Yeltsin, who needs peace to boost his election chances. PHOTOGRAPH: YURI KOCHETKOV

Arctic miners demand pay not promises

David Hearst in Vorkuta

THE presidential cavalcade turned slowly into Lenin Street. First came the local police escort, then came the first of the bullet-proof Zil limousines with snarled glass. It was Saturday morning, and the main drag was full of people.

No one waved or cheered. Few turned to stop their weary trudge in the Arctic daylight. Some just stood and stared at their president sat slumped in the back of the first Zil on his way to a coalmine.

Five years ago, this mining town packed the halls for Boris Yeltsin. Today, the beleaguered community of 190,000, separated from the rest of Russia by hundreds of miles of tundra, is enemy territory.

Mr Yeltsin tried all the election tricks. He promised sunshine. He said he would lay on a special train to take Vorkuta's schoolchildren down to the south. He promised the region money — 130 billion rubles (\$17 million) — most of it for settling back pay owed to the miners.

"I'm going up, changing my clothes, washing up and signing a decree," Mr Yeltsin said after a photocall 2,500ft down Vorkuta's mine. One man who did not believe him was his own economics minister.

"Total payment of wage arrears to government workers and of back pensions is absolutely unreal," the minister, Yevgeny Yasin, wrote in a letter to the prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, excerpts of which were leaked on Saturday in the Kommersant daily newspaper.

Throughout the town, an attempt had been made by officials to ensure a warm welcome. All the streets were closed, and only buses and pedestrians were allowed through. In a once-closed town such as Vorkuta, still firmly under the heel of a Soviet-style KGB, things like that can still be done.

For the orthodox, there was a poster of a smiling Mr Yeltsin greeting Aleksandr the Patriarch. It read: "Let God help to keep peace and agreement" — a so-so-veiled reference to off-expressed fears of a civil war if the communists win.

For the socialists there was another poster, saying: "Our collective should make its choice", together with a picture of Mr Yeltsin looking like a collective-farm leader.

But for the individual, there was simply a picture of Boris, the gruff village lad, pointing his finger aggressively and saying: "Make your choice."

Vorkuta's miners already have, and it is not for Mr Yeltsin. "I am voting for [Gennady] Zyuganov, because I don't see under the communists," one said.

But the same cynicism for any visitor from Moscow also affects Mr Zyuganov's chances. In last December's parliamentary elections, the extreme nationalist, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, came first, followed by the government party, Our Home is Russia, with the communists third.

The pro-government vote has eroded, along with Mr Chernomyrdin's political fortunes. This leaves the field open to various other candidates. One is Alexander Lebed.

Few in Vorkuta believed they would be voting for anyone. Tamara, aged 38, a coal worker, said: "I don't want to vote for anybody. How can I believe in anything when we don't get paid for half a year?"

Another woman, Nadzhezhda, said: "Nothing grows here. We can't live off the vegetables from our patch of land, like other miners. We have only got one asset — and that's our wages. So it's simple: we ask for only what is due to us, what we have already worked for."

But the issue is simple, too. Barring odd presidential visits, the miners are not going to get their money on time for a long while to come.

Texas student accused over Internet 'death threat'

Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

TO MANY on the Internet, José Saavedra's remark was an example of "flaming" — the electronic forum's notoriously intemperate speech — but he has been charged under laws governing terrorism.

The case, apparently the first involving threats against a public official on the Internet, is an important test in the continuing debate about freedom of speech in cyberspace. It could go to the Supreme Court.

Mr Saavedra, aged 19, a student at the University of Texas in El Paso, has been charged in Sacramento with making a terrorist threat against California state senator Tim Leslie.

The message posted last March on environmental and political discussion groups on the computerised data system, concerned a debate in California about the wild cougar population. Mr Leslie supported a measure, later defeated, to return to hunters the right to shoot the animals, which have killed several people.

Mr Saavedra remarked online: "I think it would be great if [Sen Leslie] were hunted down and skinned and mounted for our viewing pleasure. Under the code name Zuma, he posted another message a week later: "Do I recommend that we hunt down and kill Tim Leslie and his family? NO... Would I be happy if some nut actually did such a thing? YES."

Mr Leslie, a Republican and a self-described "Internet junkie", complained. He said: "What is so sinister about using the Internet is now everyone is privy to it. People all over America are discussing my death threat."

The law in California treats electronic words the same as written or spoken words, but speech that "seriously threatens" is a crime. The case is likely to revolve around the "seriously".

The first test of the validity of the charge has begun with proceedings in extradition proceedings from El Paso where he spent 16 days in prison before being released. He faces a fine of \$5,000 (\$3,300) and a maximum of three years jail.

News in brief

Qatar minister escapes attack
Qatar's health minister, Ali Saad al-Khayarin, escaped unhurt when gunmen sprayed his car with more than 100 bullets, official sources said yesterday.

He was parked at a petrol station in Doha, the Qatar capital, when gunmen pulled up and opened fire with a machine gun. — AP.

Refugees' ferry
The Sri Lankan government yesterday started a ferry service between Trincomalee and Jaffna for refugees clamouring to be resettled in their homes in the war-torn Jaffna peninsula. — Reuter.

Turks move out
A Turkish official said yesterday that almost 330,000 people have fled a 12-year-old conflict between government troops and Kurdish rebels in south-east Turkey. — Reuter.

Cutting into hull
Rescue workers recovering bodies from the Belgian-built Bukoba which sank in Lake Victoria, Tanzania, are to start cutting into the hull within the next 48 hours. More than 50 bodies were buried in a mass grave at a weekend funeral attended by thousands of mourners. More than 240 bodies have been recovered. — Reuter.

Iran 'overspent'
A parliamentary body investigating Iran's central bank has charged it with mismanaging the country's finances by allowing overspending, resulting in a foreign debt of \$28 billion in 1995, newspapers said. — Reuter.

Extortion arrests
Police in Essen, Germany, detained two men yesterday on suspicion of trying to extort DM3 million (£1.5 million) from a supermarket chain by planting bombs on its shelves inside packets of orange juice. — Reuter.

Anti-graft drive
China will launch a crackdown on corruption in state-allocated housing after failing to stop officials from abusing their position to upgrade their homes, the Xinhua news agency said. — Reuter.

Filipino clashes
Filipino government forces, using howitzers, pounded a hill held by Muslim guerrillas of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front in the southern Philippines and killed about 15 rebels, the military said yesterday. — Reuter.

New twist in adoption scandal

Greeks say they were shipped abroad as part of a ploy by rightwingers to eradicate the left, writes Helena Smith in Athens

IN A NEW twist to a tale that has rocked Greece, thousands of Greeks are claiming that they were declared orphans and later shipped overseas or given away for adoption in the post-war years, because their parents were on the side of the left in the country's 1946-49 civil war.

Those involved were often placed in children's homes by defeated and destitute parents, but the families expected to reclaim them.

The victims say months of research into their past has brought to light a rightwing "national programme", that aimed to rid Greece of its "communist element" in the 30 years after the war.

Orchestrated by Queen Frederica, the German-born mother of Athens' deposed King Constantine, the scheme allegedly saw as many as 20,000 toddlers being shipped to America and Australia.

Others are believed to have been deposited around Europe or handed over to "nationalists" in Greece.

"There were great fears that growing up without their parents and full of hate, these children would be a future risk to the country," said Iphigenia Kalfapoulou, a lawyer who heads the Association for the Search for Children Adopted Without the Consent of Their Natural Parents.

"The programme now ex-

plains the role of the 72 'baby-towns' which operated between the 1950s and 60s and were set up by Frederica. The babies who lived in them all disappeared."

During the poverty-stricken years after the war, thousands of children were handed over by destitute Greeks to state-run institutions around the country. Many had hoped they would be reunited at a later date.

But Ms Kalfapoulou, who was herself adopted by right-wing "patriots", said that the children were very soon being declared dead.

"In the baby-towns the children were proclaimed missing people and at the institutions they were issued with false death certificates," she added.

"In both cases, however, they were either taken abroad or sold to people with impeccable nationalist credentials."

Since the scandal erupted last year, more than 600 orphans, including many now living in America, have discovered their real identities.

Under pressure from the victims, the Socialist government has launched an in-depth inquiry into the scam, ordering files to be opened up at public orphanages. Last week it also began to replace antiquated adoption laws, blamed for a rash of recent baby-selling scandals.

Announcing the new legislation, Evangelos Venizelos, the justice minister, said "family courts" would soon be set up to oversee adoptions in an effort to clamp down on the illegal trade.

Adoptees would be given the right to trace their roots, and tough penalties would be imposed on parents caught selling children. "We hope this legislation will be the bed-

andure the long waiting-lists of Greeks wishing to adopt, have reportedly been prepared to pay up to \$56,000 for a baby.

Ms Kalfapoulou, whose association played a big role in lobbying for the legislation, said the new law was still inadequate.

"It specifically states that private adoptions can continue, which will only encourage the illegal practice."

"We would have liked to have seen more state control of adoptions in general."

She said the victims would also put pressure on the government to pass other legislation that would facilitate their search for their natural families. "Although the files at state-run orphanages have officially been released, in reality every archive is still branded as top secret."

She added: "It's quite clear that our efforts to get to the truth are being blocked because a lot of children who ended up in Greece were sold to senior officials, such as judges and politicians."

Childless couples, unable to

Tuzla mourns the young victims of Bosnia's worst atrocity

Savoir Armut in Tuzla

ABOUT 20,000 people, many sobbing, gathered at the weekend to mark the first peacetime anniversary of Bosnia's worst war atrocity, the massacre of 71 people by a Serb mortar bomb fired into the town of Tuzla.

Relatives of the victims placed wreaths and candles on the small square where the mortar bomb exploded on the evening of May 25, 1995.

Bosnia's former prime minister, Haris Silajdzic, and Tuzla's mayor, Selim Belesagic, joined mourners.

Roman Catholic Croat, Serb Orthodox and Muslim clerics intoned prayers simultaneously to evoke Tuzla's multi-faith coexistence, which survived the pressures of war.

City officials unveiled a 13 ft monument to the victims inscribed with verse by a Bosnian poet, Mak Dizdjar. "Here one does not live only to live, here one does not live only to die, here one dies to live."

A mortar bomb fired from Serb-held hills outside the town plunged into its night-life district when restaurants and cafes were packed, slaughtering 71 mainly young people, and wounding scores of others.

But although Tuzla was intermittently shelled, it was spared close-quarter fighting.

"This was a day of sorrow, but the Bosnian people resisted revenge and showed that Bosnia is defended by humanity," Mr Belesagic said.

Faketa Mehmedovic, aged 19, a witness to the slaughter, said: "I am haunted by the images of people that perished. We cannot forget and forgive, but we have to go on living."

Of the 71 victims, 49 Muslims, Croats and Serbs have been buried in a common grave at their families' request. — Reuter.

"This is not about indecision," insists the White House chief of staff, as 14 infants are carried out of the home by nurses. "It would be actively irresponsible to make a decision as profound as adoptive parenthood without proper consideration."

Mark Lawson, page 9

Praise with faint damns

A necessary national voice

LET us now praise the leader of the opposition. It is such a rotten job in so many ways. You are always at a disadvantage against the Prime Minister. You wait in hope, coveting his job, burdened with frustration, always having to react rather than to initiate. Yes, you get invited to the important dinners and there are occasional trips abroad. But back home there is nothing but criticism from the Conservative backbenches and sniping from the Tory press. Hard to know which is worse sometimes. They are rude about your wife. They say you are too pro-Europe. They think you are too cautious on the economy. Your colleagues don't make your life any easier with their off-the-record briefings and their snide personal attacks. But when it comes to the election they will all depend upon you, won't they? Oh yes. So for once let's hear it for the leader of the opposition. Let's hear it for Kenneth Clarke.

When Douglas Hurd retired to the backbenches last year, he warned the Chancellor that all the Europhobic opprobrium would shortly turn his way. They would think they had got Douglas out. Now they would go for Ken. And so they have, ever since, working themselves into a frenzy of contempt and anger against the Chancellor on what is almost a daily basis. Europe is the main battlefield and the issue to which the conflict always returns. First the single currency, to which Clarke remains wedded, then the battle about the referendum, which he opposed even to the extent that his resignation was threatened, after that the comments about not wanting Britain to be a Switzerland with nukes. Now there is the beef war, to which Clarke is at best a reluctant recruit and probably deep down a conscientious objector. In the eyes of the fundamentalists, it is always Clarke who is trying to disable the anti-European effort. Always Clarke who gets steps out of line. Always Clarke who blurs the picture. But it is not just Europe. Now it is taxation too. Clarke failing to promise tax cuts. Clarke refusing to bribe the electorate to save the party, like Roy Jenkins (whom Ken admires) long ago in another part of the forest. Clarke threatening to raise interest rates as the election nears. Clarke trenchantly praising the welfare state and warning against being panicked into unnecessary reforms.

There are some endorsements which a Conservative minister would probably prefer not to receive, but at times it almost seems as if Clarke is the most effective defender of the one-nation interest in British politics today. Only at times, of course. He was a destructive Health Secretary, an irresponsible Education Secretary and a facetious Home Secretary. But now, having ascended to the Treasury and stayed, for the first time, more than a few months in the same ministerial job, Clarke is playing a crucially important though often lonely political role. Within the constraints of collective responsibility (even as it is loosely interpreted under this government), he often manages to say more, more often, and sometimes more to the point, than the official opposition. They, inevitably, have to be very cautious about what they say. Clarke, to his credit but at some risk nevertheless, refuses to be scared into similar caution.

As the Conservative Party continues to head towards a self-inflicted electoral and political catastrophe of historic proportions, Clarke seems to many to be a voice from the past. His kind of Toryism has been scorched out from large parts of the party over the past decade. There is absolutely no doubt that a significant proportion of the parliamentary party would like to see him out too, another victim in their forward march through the shell of the once massive and vibrant party. Good Tory judges scoff at the very thought that Clarke is a serious leadership contender when John Major finally goes, and perhaps that is so. Yet Clarke speaks for an immensely important and still substantial swathe of this country. Squeezed between Blairism and Thatcherism, without a consistent voice in the national press, liberal one-nation Toryism is an endangered species. But there is indisputably a continuing place in British politics for the tradition of Macmillan, Macleod and Heath. Kenneth Clarke speaks for that tradition bravely and of necessity, and he deserves praise (which, coming from this source, he will doubtless spurn) for continuing to do so.

An ode response
Alle Menschen werden Brüder?

HOW many people, listening to the Ode to Joy from Beethoven's ninth symphony, stop and think to themselves that the composer was German? Not many. But to our knowledge there are two exceptions: the Nazis of the Third Reich, and now the British Tory tabloids. It is not a happy pairing, and it is one that ought to give the latter pause for real thought.

This latest entry in the Any Stick To Beat A Dog album arises because the BBC have chosen the Ode to Joy as the theme tune for their coverage of next month's Euro '96 football championships which, in case you have recently returned from Mars, will take place in England. Education secretary Gillian Shephard claims to find the decision "unbelievable". Party chairman Brian Mawhinney is upset that the BBC could not support British teams with British music. Former industry minister John Butcher finds the choice of the Ode "bizarre and unacceptable".

It is the Tories' bad luck that they have turned against Beethoven for being German just as a new tome, Beethoven in German Politics, has been published by Yale University Press. From David B Dennis's book we discover that Germans are constantly reinventing Beethoven in the image of their own particular era. Over the years Beethoven has been variously recast as a French revolutionary, a German nationalist, a proto-Communist, a proto-Nazi, a precursor of the Third Reich, the GDR, German reunification and the European Union. Bismarck, the Kaiser, Hitler and now Helmut Kohl have all invoked his genius for lesser purposes.

Only the Nazis, however, wanted to celebrate Beethoven because he was a German. And only the Tories and the British tabloids want to drive him off the airwaves for the same reason. Presumably they would prefer a bit of British music — as long as it is not by Handel (German), Delius (son of a German), Holst (sounds German) or Britten (pacifist so probably pro-German). Best to stick with God Save the Queen. Except isn't she German too?



Letters to the Editor

Dear Paul, Ken, Claes and Mike

The feeling's mutual

IN SUCCEEDING in having Paul Gambaccini sack Margaret Drabble from Radio 3 (May 25), Middle England has lost a future ally. If one takes into account his attitude towards the film Kids, as expressed on Radio 4's Kaleidoscope. He was quick to point out the greater role that parents ought to play in controlling the lives of their children, regarding the movie as in some way immoral or disturbing.

DOES anyone remember when Ken Livingstone (Letters, May 24) ran the GLC, especially those now at the forefront of New Labour? London was adeptly and successfully managed without essential services being compromised. If one adds Tony Banks into this, and if we expand that scenario and place both men at the head of the Labour Party, would we not have a viable and morally honest alternative to the Conservatives, without bankrupting the country?

WHILST it is true that Claes Oldenburg's three-dimensional work (Sire is everything, May 24) does tend to be very large in scale, in terms of sheer banality it is even bigger. Most people relate to the everyday things of life, they don't need to be presented with blown-up versions of them at museum.

IF IT is fair and just for the Home Secretary to grant employers the right to demand details of their prospective employees' criminal records, he should surely grant the same rights to employees regarding their employers' criminal records.

Letters to the Editor may be faxed on 0171 837 4530 or sent by post to 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER, and by e-mail to letters@guardian.co.uk.

WHAT was missing from Margaret Drabble's argument (Mutual reality it ain't, May 24) was the anxiety born of exhausted experience rather than from thoughtful indignation. For those of us who do know about it from first-hand, such a responsibility tends to concentrate the mind wonderfully.

The real question is not who's going to pay for long-term care? The question is, who is going to do it? Where are the army of professional carers going to come from? The population is top-heavy and there simply aren't enough nurses and assistants who are young and strong enough to cope with the demographic time-bomb ticking away in front of our eyes.

MARGARET Drabble is right. The way to get the social state back on its feet is to refuse to have anything to do with the Government's attempts to persuade us to all go private.

M for maybe

MAEV KENNEDY (Listings revision may take heat off modern buildings, May 23) suggests that the idea for an M-mark involves an automatic review of the listing of a modern building after 10 years. That is not so. Our policy remains that no buildings less than 10 years old will be listed, and only exceptional buildings less than 30 years old are listed.

What is now suggested is that when a building less than 30 years old is listed, it will be listed with an M-mark, indicating that its status will be reviewed at the end of the decade in which its 30th birthday falls. This would provide for a reconsideration of the building's merits when its context is more precisely discerned.

The Council for the Preservation of Rural England castigates us for concentrating on the built environment. The document is indeed chiefly about procedures relating to buildings and historic sites, which are its clearly stated terms of reference.

feasions. Compassion? You must be joking. Margaret Drabble, 8 Hadland Terrace, West Cross, Swansea SA3 5TT.

NOT only am I not convinced that I would be helping others if I subscribe to Bugra but I believe that buying healthcare to have preferential treatment when I am ill and in pain is not ethical. If we have the knowledge and the skills to cure and ease pain, it is an obscenity to differentiate those who receive treatment according to their wealth.

DAISY CORDER, 51 Nassington Road, London NW3 2TY.

CHEERS to Margaret Drabble! I'm with her all the way, only I'll end in a bit later.

ANGELA PADDEPHE, Seaven View, Bausley, Crew Green, Shrewsbury SY5 9RL.



The best pineapple in the Forest

THE suggestion that the mockery aimed at Jason Lee (Pineapples and bananas skins, Leader, May 23) is of a racist nature is misguided and unfair. Other figures of fun, such as Graham Taylor and Tony Adams, have received equivalent levels of ridicule regardless of the colour of their skin.

Jason Lee must have realised that Premier League footballers have celebrity status and are natural targets for mockery from the mass media. Unlike Paul Jones at Milan, the chants have been purely in jest. Lee and your editor should get themselves a sense of humour.

They forget we're the generation which grew up in the social state, went to school in the social state, stayed healthy thanks to the social state, and worked hard to contribute to it on the understanding that we are all here to help each other. We're radical.

Now we're thinking about old age. They fool themselves there are ways to make us change our whole mentality. They think they can put us off by showing us news items highlighting the inefficiency and needless suffering which characterise the public services, contrasted with advertisements showing us the cool superiority of private "provision". We're not fools. We 50-year-olds are going to get this right again.

DR THOMAS MUIRHEAD, 27 Conway Street, London W1P 5HL.

THE LAKE DISTRICT: Sandwiched between trips to Ingleborough in half a gale and the old, familiar Conistone falls, we had a look at Humphrey Head, the great limestone promontory that thrusts south into Morecambe Bay from the coast near Kent's Bank like the prow of a man-of-war. Indeed, with the tide in, the waves far below, and the sunlit sea reaching to the horizon, you can imagine yourself on the bridge of a battleship. Not so long ago we used to climb the Cave — a tremendous hole in the cliff like a rotten tooth — and spend a happy hour or two traversing the limestone cliffs, 10 feet or so above the water or the sands for climbing practice. You scramble up to the hole under a crumbling rock arch, rather like the vault of a cathedral, then inch up the slightly precarious slabs above with much the same feeling you get climbing over the snow cornice out of Cust's Gully on Great End. But we did none of these exciting things the other day, merely walking along the ebb-

Why those top clerics have a heavy cross to bear

IT IS not really surprising that Archbishop Patrick Kelly (Drafted in to face the canon fire, May 25) claims no one has raised the issue of contraception with him in all his years as a priest. I would question if anyone has ever genuinely debated moral issues with him.

THE training Patrick Kelly was exposed to as a seminarian did not anticipate debate; it emphasised the passing on of accumulated wisdom and the refutation of "error", with the naughty bits of otherwise English moral theology texts printed in Latin to confound the laity.

KEVIN J HARTLEY, 8 Hambury Hill, South Hinksey, North Hinksey, West Midlands DY8 1BR.

LORD Runcie is held in great affection and respect. However, the position of the House of Bishops on homosexuality has more to be said in its favour than he allows (Runcie admits breaking ban on homosexual priests, May 18). Issues in Human Sexuality argues that the divine intention in creation is for faithful, life-long marriage. This is what the Church seeks to encourage. Sexually active gay and lesbian relationships cannot therefore be regarded as an equally valid option.

Some choose to share their life in a loving relationship with someone of the same sex. The conscience of such people is to be respected and their presence, and voice, in the Church fully affirmed.

Clergy have, like everyone else, a need for close and loving relationships for intimacy. But they have a particular responsibility to witness to the Church's discipline which, whether people are homosexual or heterosexual, allows two ways of life — celibacy and marriage. (Rt Rev) Richard Harries, Bishop of Oxford, Diocesan Church House, North Hinksey, Oxford OX2 0NB.

A Country Diary

THE LAKE DISTRICT: Sandwiched between trips to Ingleborough in half a gale and the old, familiar Conistone falls, we had a look at Humphrey Head, the great limestone promontory that thrusts south into Morecambe Bay from the coast near Kent's Bank like the prow of a man-of-war. Indeed, with the tide in, the waves far below, and the sunlit sea reaching to the horizon, you can imagine yourself on the bridge of a battleship. Not so long ago we used to climb the Cave — a tremendous hole in the cliff like a rotten tooth — and spend a happy hour or two traversing the limestone cliffs, 10 feet or so above the water or the sands for climbing practice. You scramble up to the hole under a crumbling rock arch, rather like the vault of a cathedral, then inch up the slightly precarious slabs above with much the same feeling you get climbing over the snow cornice out of Cust's Gully on Great End. But we did none of these exciting things the other day, merely walking along the ebb-

side sands to the fingernail of the promontory and strolling up to the top of the cliff, studying the flora. Up on top it's a wonderful viewpoint — sea, mountains, scattered woodlands, limestone villages and the sands reaching out, seemingly almost as far as one could see. Somewhere on the cliff, or so they say, the last wolf in England was slain and there's a holy well marked on the map although I've never spotted it — its water once a recommended cure for rheumatism and other ills. This is one of the places where the Vikings might have landed on the foot-hills. Amongst the brambles and the dead nightshade are several quite rare plants while out on the sands are the feeding birds, notably oystercatchers in their thousands. West of the cliff is the great plain of Windermere, won early last century now, with an airfield and weekends, falling parachutists, stuck in the middle. A HARRY GRIFFIN

A phoney war of bulls led by donkeys

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

ATTEMPTS have been made to remove all trace of semen. That is not a line from a television series about the work of a glamorous pathologist but an observation on how ministers have described the incident which precipitated the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and Europe. In 1914, it was the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo that made the lights go out all over the Continent. A quarter of a century later, the invasion of Poland marked the moment when appeasement had to end. The Great Beef War was declared when the Council of Ministers of the European Union refused to lift its ban on semen, in favour and against.

right of British bulls to father foreign calves was part of the casus belli is to confirm that the enterprise is ridiculous. Like every conflict in Europe's long and bloody history, the fundamental causes of the Great Beef War were long and complex — the power of the Eurosceptics in the Tory Party, Labour's massive and sustained opinion poll lead, the desertion of usually loyal Tory newspapers and John Major's feeble image. Perhaps even the European Union's prohibition of beef exports had a little to do with it. As the Prime Minister — linguistic philosopher that he is — will know, cause has to be distinguished from occasion. The occasion was the ban on semen, as well as tallow and gelatin. The first troops over the top should be the Royal Corps of Veterinary Surgeons, test-tubes at the ready. They have a tailor-made battle cry. "Once more into the breach..." We must inseminate or die who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spoke. Pursuing the image carries

a considerable risk both for the Government and for the tabloids, which — being cynical as well as silly — have exhausted their repertoire of military clichés. If this is war, what about the firm column that is undermining morale at home? I read in one chauvinistic tabloid that British beef will not be served at Ascot this year. Is it, therefore, right for the royal family to attend? The pictures of the Prince of Wales, top-battled amongst the massed ranks of collaborators, will be depressingly reminiscent of the Duke of Windsor hob-nobbing with Hitler in Berlin. The problem of exaggerated comparisons is never knowing where they will lead or end. If the cry is "Speak for England" John Major is Neville Chamberlain not Winston Churchill. For he has constantly retreated from hard reality throughout the years of growing European danger. Now, he has declared a phoney war. I write metaphorically when I say that ministers' determination to sidestep the semen at least demonstrates their

understanding of how potentially ludicrous Operation Sir-Iain has become. Anyone who needed to be convinced of the failure, as well as the fatality, had only to watch an ancient episode of Drop The Dead Donkey, which was repeated on television last week. The elderly edition of the news bulletin satire was packed with jokes about mad cow disease and the government failure to combat the foreign fear that steak kills. When the Cabinet is less prescient than a comedy show, the country really is in trouble. The problem can be clearly stated. Until enough people in Britain start to laugh at John Major, too many people abroad will go on laughing at Britain. All those patriotic papers, which describe the farce in the language of El Alamein and Dunkirk are helping to make us look ridiculous in the eyes of the Europeans whom they despise. So it concerns our reputation abroad, no less than contempt for a government at home, which makes me hope that soon the Opposition will

denounce the policy of European obstruction for what it is — an attempt to mask multiple failure by encouraging the worst instincts in the nation. To my delight, the case against sulking in a Brussels corner was made with brutal clarity on the World At One last Wednesday. But the speaker was Max Hastings — who, he will confirm, has nothing to do with the Labour Party. I share the view that Major must not be allowed to profit from the crisis of his own creation. But his chances of benefiting improve if nobody says that he is wrong. No doubt the Labour leadership is making its own historical comparisons. One of them is almost certainly the Argentinian invasion of the Falklands, which, according to folklore, ensured Margaret Thatcher's re-election in 1983. In fact, her victory was secured by the Labour Party's general conduct, not just by its behaviour during the war in the South Atlantic. However, politically speaking, our attitude towards the real conflict was not the party's finest

hour. We supported the military action in general but thought it necessary to criticise particular aspects of the operation. In the circumstances, that may have been right and unavoidable. But it was immensely damaging to the reputation of the occasional critics. Equivocation is no longer necessary. Then, a free country had been annexed by a neighbouring power. Now, an industry has lost the confidence of its customers. The parallel is hardly exact. In their nervous minds, both the Government — and the editors who support it — must know that, in the long run, Britain can only be damaged by replacing diplomacy with rude gestures. I cannot remember if it was Billy Liar or Just William who used to practice pulling frightening faces in the mirror. Perhaps Feeble John is now doing the same. He probably terrifies himself. But what bothers me is that the British Prime Minister is behaving like an ass — and we are not all shouting "Ee-aw" at him.

Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom of the page.

Jerusalem Diary

Derek Brown

A STORY once popular in the House of Commons press...

Which leads us seamlessly on to Hahityashvut Avot, Gima'el Yisrael L'Knesset...

It's a message of wide-spread appeal. "People ask me from 8am to 10pm to say the banks have cheated them out of their homes..."

Oddly enough, the party is given no chance of winning even a single seat. The same takes its toll in the forest for Gima'el Yisrael L'Knesset...

In one of its broadcasts, the Wrinkly Interest urges the powers-that-be: "Don't make us rob banks to augment our pensions..."

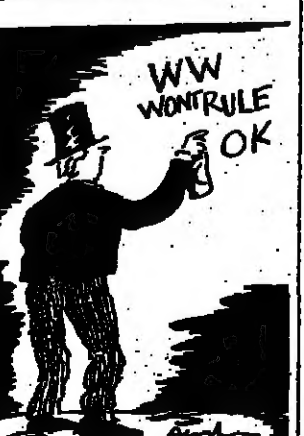
Much funnier is the manifesto of Yemin Yisrael, designed to appeal to those voters who believe, deep down, that Attila the Hun was a cissie...

There are plenty of other choices among the 20 parties competing for the 120 seats. There is, for example, the Party of Men's Rights in the Family...

Other, less specialised, political tastes are served by a choice of three orthodox Jewish religious parties, two Arab parties and a Jewish-Arab post-Communist party...

The present government, for a time, featured one of the most remarkable partnerships of modern Israeli politics: members of Meretz and Shas rubbing shoulders in the same cabinet...

Meretz believes in peace, social justice and civil liberties. It is often described as a leftist party, though it is to the dictatorship of the proletariat rather than John Redwood is to the Durham Miners' Gala...



White House enters the Orphan age

Commentary

Mark Lawson

PEOPLE have often accused Bill Clinton of being an emblematic representative of the Me Generation of baby-boomers...

Republicans fear that Mrs Clinton's remarks are a cynical attempt to improve her husband's family values credentials in the run-up to November...

July 4 - In remarks to the press before entering the Maryland children's home, where he and Mrs Clinton would be staying...

think of our nation's forefathers, let us think also of our nation's foster fathers, whose contribution has been arguably no less great...

refusal of any American adoption agency to accept an application from himself and his wife Elizabeth on the grounds of the former Senate majority leader's great age...

July 6 - Bob Dole's attempt to become a foster grandfather runs into difficulties when agencies object that he does not appear to have the economic means to support such responsibility...

July 31 - On the day that he was expected to announce which of the 14 children would become First Fosterchild, President Clinton sensationally declares that he has decided to become the legal guardian of all the babies...

tempt to court favour with various electoral constituencies. "Even in this town, even in this town," gasps the President, stopping to dab his eyes with a handkerchief...

October 4 - The Supreme Court rejects the suggestion that the adopted First Children should have to undergo confirmation hearings. Now desperate to check the President's hold on the family values vote, Bob Dole persuades his old friends in Congress to force through a constitutional amendment removing the current lower age limits on candidates for high office...

October 12 - As further details emerge of Hillary Clinton's suspiciously-timed dealings in baby wind cure stocks, Republican Senator Alphonse D'Amato announces a Senate investigation into what is being called The Gripewater Scandal...

September 19 - A report in the rightwing Washington Star alleges that Hillary Clinton purchased shares in a company, manufacturing indigestion remedies for infants only days before the publicity about the First Family's multiple adoption resulted in a steep hike in share prices in the juvenile pharmaceutical sector...

It seems Hillary Clinton may be a representative of the Mia generation

as the Clintons' 14 new children are, in effect, political appointments - they should be subject to Senate confirmation hearings. "The stuff we've got on some of these kids, they're gonna be writing themselves if we ever get them before the microphone," says a Republican source quoted in the story...

September 19 - A report in the rightwing Washington Star alleges that Hillary Clinton purchased shares in a company, manufacturing indigestion remedies for infants only days before the publicity about the First Family's multiple adoption resulted in a steep hike in share prices in the juvenile pharmaceutical sector...

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Sun, sand and encounters with otherness



Ros Coward

TOURISM has profound and mostly negative effects on the environment and culture. But the middle classes smugly believe that such problems are not created by their sort of holidays...

October 24 - As the Senate investigation moves closer to what is being called "the smoking diaper" - and Dole gains in the polls, with his running-mate campaigning when homework allows - President Clinton makes an emotional television address...

October 24 - As the Senate investigation moves closer to what is being called "the smoking diaper" - and Dole gains in the polls, with his running-mate campaigning when homework allows - President Clinton makes an emotional television address...

ated by recession-hit Britons. With European workers, the unemployed and ethnic minorities rubbing shoulders, the tour operators have achieved what Marxism never could, the mingling of the international proletariat. Just imagine the potential if the Internationale replaced the beerkeller songs in one bar and the football choruses in the next...

Instead, the nations only occasionally recognise their mutual interests during the daytime pursuit of sun and sea. By night they experience cultural otherness: not of the host culture but of each other's. British children find the beerkellers as exotic as any indigenous Spanish location. The Germans and French gleefully with a fascination bordering on envy, at the British karaoke nights. Only hardcore football devotees cross the cultural divide, wandering from German bar to English in search of the best match, whether it be Man U's home game or Stuttgart's...

In the fifties, resort tourism gave some British their first taste of a world other than the minutiae it is giving many their first taste of European union. The uneasy working through of communalism and difference ought to be a warning to politicians whose view of Europe comes from the "Tuscan hills. This is the front line, where the comparative worth of your currency becomes abundantly clear. The people on these resorts are the real adventurers...

Of course there are problems associated with resort tourism. The aim of holidays with all-in travel and facilities is to maximise the profits for the tour operators. Judging from Airtour's profits (£5.8 million in 1994), a report by Prof Peter Salva of the University of the Balearics officially told what many British holiday makers already know. In Mallorca it is now easier to get a plate of sauerkraut than a cup of tea. Some British tabloids regard as exotic, this is precisely the kind of tourism which is growing. Believing that otherness has been destroyed in Europe, the more affluent are travelling further afield to find it. This pioneering attitude has turned Mount Everest into Clapham Junction. But as tourism arrives so vanishes the possibility of immersing yourself in another culture...

However, in the package tour complexes of Spain, the new Europe is stirring. There, for a fraction of the price, you can have a close encounter with otherness. By comparison, what the middle classes see from their exotic locations, or from the terraces of Chianti-style and the poolsides of the Dordogne, is a remote illusion.

The BSE battle is not just about beef. It has pitched Britain's profit-led culture against the more regulatory, social democratic systems in Europe. David Marquand argues that Labour shares too many of these European values to remain neutral



Time to take sides

THE Government's beef war is so peculiar in conception, and so preposterous in execution that it would have betrayed the European interest which it is sworn to uphold. For all the Government's John Bull frothing, Britain's true interest is identical with that of Europe. The British beef industry and the British government are not the British people. The people want safe beef, not high beef sales; and the dirty little secret at the heart of the affair is that they would have precious little hope of getting it had there been no EU ban to concentrate the minds of British ministers...

Nor is there anything irrational - or even anti-British - in the EU export ban. Until BSE is eradicated from British herds, continental consumers cannot be sure that it is safe to eat. Had the Commission failed to impose the ban it would have betrayed the European interest which it is sworn to uphold. For all the Government's John Bull frothing, Britain's true interest is identical with that of Europe. The British beef industry and the British government are not the British people. The people want safe beef, not high beef sales; and the dirty little secret at the heart of the affair is that they would have precious little hope of getting it had there been no EU ban to concentrate the minds of British ministers...

contempt for the wider society. On the other, the stakeholder values which Blair has sought to make his own. In that battle, Labour cannot possibly be neutral. Everything about it - its values, its rhetoric, its hopes for the future and its inheritance from the past - puts it on the European side of the divide. Thanks to Neil Kinnock and Tony Blair, it has abandoned insular Clause 4 socialism for social democracy. And social democracy is a quintessentially European creed. It flourishes only in Europe and former European colonies; it has been part of the warp and woof of European history for 150 years. Of course, it is diverse, as Europe is diverse. British social democracy differs from its German cousin, just as Germany's differs from those of southern Europe. But the core social-democratic values of justice, mutuality and liberty are common to the entire family...

From their own point of view, they are right. The vision of Britain as a fortress of atomistic individualism, as an island Arizona somewhere in the mid-Atlantic, cannot be realised in a European Union, not through with social-democratic values. By the same token, the Blair project is willy-nilly a European project. It would not, of course, turn us into a carbon copy of any other European country; no European country could ever be a carbon copy of any other. Nor does it imply the tame and passive reception of a continental model. As the Labour members of the Strasbourg parliament have repeatedly shown, British social democracy has as much to give its continental cousins as it has to take from them. What it does imply is a return to the European mainstream which we entered when the Roman legions first landed on our shores, and out of which the Thatcherites managed to haul us. To run away from that implication at the first whiff of beef war grapeshot would be to make nonsense of everything New Labour claims to stand for...

and the British role within it has always been, at bottom, a battle over Britain's identity - over what it means to be British in a post-imperial world. The Europhobic right to which John Major has now surrendered are not Churchillian patriots, as they claim. They are the lineal descendants of the appeasers of the thirties who sold out the Czechs rather than fight for a country of which they knew little. Nor are they Gaullist nationalists. De Gaulle's vision of France may have been archaic, but there was a certain nobility about it. The myths and symbols to which it appealed were those of great nation with a heroic vocation; and it helped the French to emerge from the traumas of de-colonisation with their heads high. The Europhobic vision of Britain is altogether ignoble. It is of an enfeebled, exhausted country with no future and a petty past. It does not draw on a robust confidence in the potential of the British people. It is inspired by fear - fear of the outside world; fear of the future; fear of the complex, challenging reality of late 20th-century Britain herself. There can be no compromise between that vision and Tony Blair's vision of a young country, at peace with herself and the world. The Europhobic vision has been making most of the running for the last 15 years, demansing us all in the process. It is time for New Labour to draw a line in the sand.

Advertisement for Rukba charity. Text: "Since a friend introduced me to Rukba my life has been much less of a worry". Includes contact information: 0345 58 56 80. Logo: Rukba Helping elderly people stay independent.

ET COULD NT... WHO CARES? JUST BANK THE CARIQUE BEFORE HE'S BUSTED BY THE S.F.O... top clerics have loss to bear... Diary... nkeys

10 OBITUARIES

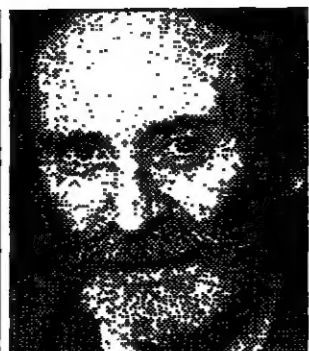
Laurence Marks

Making complex art from profiles

LAURENCE Marks, who has died aged 67, was a journalist of astonishing versatility. Most astonishing, though, was the fact that this born schoolmaster should have become a journalist at all.

responsibility. The result was that getting profiles written and into the paper was far from easy. What Laurence Marks managed to do was wield the scalpel decisively and yet produce a carefully thought-out portrait in a matter of hours.

Each profile, it was ordained, should take at least two weeks to research and write. When any public or private figure was put on the profile operating table, the man or woman with the scalpel had to proceed with deep seriousness and a sense of



Marks... subtlety at work

concentrate all his mind and energy on the job in hand. As an interviewer, he had great warmth and charm and yet was able to turn off both as if switching off an electric cur-

rent. Moments after listening with complete attention to every word of an interviewee, he could walk past the same person without a flicker of recognition. Laurence Marks went up to Lincoln College, Oxford and read law. And it was in that city, on the Oxford Mail, that he began his career in journalism. It was from there that he moved to London and the Evening Standard. On that paper he edited Londoners' Diary.

he chose a trade renowned for gregariousness. He could write about any subject and produce any kind of article. He was admired by his peers, yet was rarely on anything like close terms with them. His shyness and desire to be alone became legendary. He was once called at home for an article and said simply: "Wait a minute, let me put the light on." The editor who called him remarked in awe: "He was sitting there in the dark, thinking."

Edward Gurney



First from Florida... Edward Gurney, the Republican

Shooting star

EDWARD GURNEY, who has died aged 82, was one of the few United States senators to have been elected during the Watergate crisis. Gurney seemed to be one of the Republican Party's rising stars when he was elected junior senator for Florida in the 1968 conservative landslide. But his career ended abruptly in 1974 after he was accused of dispensing corrupt favours to campaign contributors.

1992 he ran for the House of Representatives in the eighth congressional district, based on Orlando. This was long before it became the home of tourist attractions like Disney World and Sea World. Gurney's main concern after his election was the health of the Martin Marietta defence plant, which dominated his district and employed most of his voters.

Though he had already held a number of offices in his state, Gurney's decision to oppose the erstwhile Democratic governor for Florida's vacant senate seat initially seemed quixotic in the extreme. Not only was he born a northerner in Portland, Maine — glaringly apparent whenever he opened his mouth — but, like most of the former Confederacy, Florida had not sent a Republican to the Senate since the civil war.

So he had practical as well as philosophical reasons for his hawkish views and he was rewarded with a further two terms in the House. His starting translation to the Senate showed that he had become a potent figure in a politically important state and he seemed to be well on the road to political fortune.

But the times were in his favour. Gurney, then 54, had a vigorous style and his striking good looks attracted many young people: his gravitas and extreme conservatism appealed to their grandparents. Florida's electorates then included the country's highest proportion of elderly people and an influential group of well-heeled and reactionary Cuban refugees.

His image, repeatedly going out of his way to put the best possible interpretation on the 35 witnesses' increasingly damaging testimony as it unrolled through the 87 days of hearings. But his stance proved a political disaster. Just before President Nixon was forced to resign in 1974, Gurney was charged with running a slush fund whose contributors were promised federal building contracts.

Though Nixon only got into the White House by a tiny margin of the popular vote, Florida's flight from the Democrats made Gurney the first politician in the history of the south's least-populated state to poll more than a million. He arrived on Capitol Hill with a seemingly rosy future.

It has never been clear what foundation there was for the allegations and there remains a suspicion they were politically motivated. Gurney stopped his re-election campaign and resigned from the Senate to fight the case. After two federal trials he was completely cleared. In the 1978 election he tried to regain his old seat in the House of Representatives but he was overwhelmingly defeated.

Like another Republican freshman of that year, Robert Dole of Kansas, Gurney had an impressive war record. He, too, had been severely wounded in the closing months of the second world war and had had to endure sustained and only partially successful hospital treatment.

Before the war he had gained a law degree at Harvard and, after his discharge, resumed his legal practice in New York City. But the continuing effect of his wounds, with an exposed nerve causing constant pain, made him decide to move to Florida in 1949.

He worked there as a lawyer for some years until he decided to opt for politics. In

been arrested 18 times for similar offences since 1978. He told the court that he did it so that women "could have some awareness of God". Born Enrique Silberg in Cuba, he emigrated to the US in search of "women, gold and God", he told his probation officer Richard Howell. He was one of his political campaigners who survived him with his two daughters.

Harold Jackson
Edward John Gurney, politician, born January 12, 1914; died May 14, 1996

Laurence Dowdall

Legendary flourishes

VERY FEW lawyers become household names but Laurence Dowdall, who has died at the age of 60, was a rare exception. For a generation of Scots, who depended on real life and newspapers for their courtroom dramas, his name was synonymous with the juiciest and most colourful of cases.

paintstaking preparation. When Dowdall pulled an unexpected stroke in front of a jury, it was often because he had visited the scene of the crime and was able to undermine the credibility of prosecution witnesses with the insights which he had thus acquired.

It was these courtroom flourishes which turned him into a legend. Another noted Glasgow criminal lawyer, Len Murray, recalls the first case in which he saw Dowdall at work — a Glasgow stabbing where a young woman witness's brief glimpse of the assailant was a



'Get me Dowdall'... such was his reputation that this was often heard on arrest

During a period of 30 years, the appearance of Laurence Dowdall at any court anywhere in Scotland would ensure both media interest and public benches packed with onlookers. His involvement turned what would otherwise be routine jury trials into great public events and queues would form to see a maestro at work. He never disappointed.

Dowdall coaxed the witness into asserting that the accused was 'glazen eyed'. At that point, his client, on cue, removed a glass eye from its socket

hear: 'I don't know'. Dowdall lowered his papers, walked across the room and sat down. His client was acquitted. It was an astonishing risk for a defence lawyer to take, but it was also the kind of calculated hunch playing which made Dowdall such a star.

with Thomas White, the then chairman of Celtic Football Club with which Dowdall had a long-standing affinity. He was also a scratch golfer. Dowdall served in the Royal Navy during the war, rising to the rank of Lieutenant-Commander and becoming a tutor in gunnery. Thereafter, he formed the practice highest Dowdall which continues to be one of Glasgow's best known law

firms, specialising in criminal work. Nowadays it would be open to someone of his talents to operate as a solicitor-pleader in Scotland's High Court. That was not possible until recently and Robert Cassidy believes that Dowdall would never have given up the right to be involved in the preparation as well as presentation of cases. He also loved the sheer variety and frequent

humour of the business which Scotland's sheriff courts offered. Laurence Dowdall was predeceased by his wife Grace in 1988 and is survived by his son John, who is also a distinguished Scottish advocate.

crucial piece of evidence. Having established that she had seen the man for just a few seconds, Dowdall turned away and pointed out that she had not been looking at him for four and a half minutes. Placing his papers over the lower part of his face, he turned slowly and asked the astonished witness: "Have I got a moustache?" Murray recalls: "She whispered in a voice the jury could hardly

hear: 'I don't know'. Dowdall lowered his papers, walked across the room and sat down. His client was acquitted. It was an astonishing risk for a defence lawyer to take, but it was also the kind of calculated hunch playing which made Dowdall such a star.

The anecdotes about him are legendary. Robert Cassidy chuckles over a drunk driving case in which Dowdall, in a moment of inspiration, asserted that the accused had attracted his suspicion by being "glazen eyed". At that point, Dowdall turned theatrically to his client who, on cue, removed a glass eye from its socket. Acquittal again followed.

Dowdall was involved in some of the most celebrated Scottish murder cases although he was restricted to instructing counsel (often the future Lord Cameron) rather than appearing himself in Scotland's highest courts. The most infamous Scottish murderer of the post-war era, Peter Manuel, was reputed to have asked his mother to "Get me Dowdall" at the moment of his arrest.

In fact, the lawyer ended up as a prosecution witness against him. Manuel, who murdered a series of women during the 1980s, met Dowdall in Barlinnie Prison and spoke indiscreetly. Dowdall refused to represent him and, unusually, subsequently felt justified in testifying against him. Manuel, who murdered a series of women during the 1980s, met Dowdall in Barlinnie Prison and spoke indiscreetly. Dowdall refused to represent him and, unusually, subsequently felt justified in testifying against him.

Laurence Dowdall studied law with great distinction at Glasgow University. He first entered practice before the second world war. This was

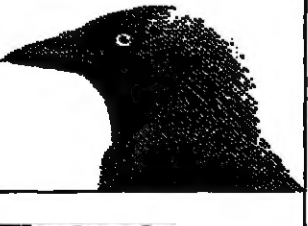
Birthdays

Dr Eric Anderson, rector, Lincoln College, Oxford, 63; The Rt Rev Simon Barrington-Ward, Bishop of Coventry, 68; Prof John Barth, author, 68; Admiral Sir Benjamin Bathurst, former First Sea Lord, 60; Jeffrey Bernard, writer, 64; Cilla

Black, entertainer, 63; Dee Dee Bridgewater, actress, jazz singer, 48; Bryony Brind, ballerina, 36; Charlotte Butler-Skudatowicz, ballet dancer, 48; Earl Cairns, banker, 56; Pat Cash, tennis player, 31; Field Marshall Sir John Chag-

actor, 74; Sir John Moberly, former ambassador to Iraq, 71; Thea Musgrave, composer, 68; Patrick O'Ferrall, chairman, Lloyd's Register, 62; Niels-Henning Orsted Pedersen, jazz bassist, 50; Gerald Ronson, chairman, Heron International, 57;

Jackdaw



on to relate some of the crazy things you and your workmates have been getting up to in the office during the making of "insert name of magazine name here". "Ehew! What a hi gang this issue it's been! We've been sitting at our desks in front of our computers at our desks five days a week at our desks. Although sometimes we go out to get lunch. This is normally at about 1.00. Although sometimes it can be a bit earlier. Or a bit later. It's quite a flexible schedule really. And obviously, we have to nip out to the toilet every now and then (the gents is just around the corner, the ladies a bit further — I think you have to go down some stairs to get to them. Apparently it's very clean, but obviously I've never been in there (so to speak). Because the gents have their own toilet just around the corner. Oh. And three weeks ago a pigeon killed itself to death because we'd

our desks on The Interweb Refectory." 3. Now insert a passport portrait of yourself looking cheerful/slightly meaningful/cybermoody/internet zany. If said photograph isn't available or makes you look like a serial killer, insert picture of, say, a man dressed up as Mickey Mouse terrorising a small child. 4. At this point, it's a good idea to say something about the cover feature you've chosen to go with. If you're not sure what to say, above in a URL that you were particularly impressed with. Something about Cat Creativity Testing will probably do the job. "http://www.netlink.co.nz/mompa/creative.html" 5. Well done. Your reader now feels entertained and intrigued by "insert name of magazine name here". It's time now to go through the final drill. You know what to say. "I hope you enjoy reading the Interweb Refectory as much as we've enjoyed writing it!!!! Hello there!!!!"

Develop new business: sell. Recognise and respond to exciting new markets: sell. Pleasant atmosphere: the staff are pod people. Professional atmosphere: zombie pod people. Creative atmosphere: hellacious pod people. Dynamic atmosphere: hellacious pod people with severed heads. Depressing news in Maxims, for those scouring the ads.

Real jobs JOB ads are another country: they do things differently there. Here's a quick decoder to bridge the difference between what the ads say — and what they really mean. Dedicated: 80 hours a week until we fire you when you return from your first coronary bypass. Must have proven ability in market: must have proven ability in puffing CV. People with energy and ambition: dim wits who will do practically anything to bring home a wagepacket. Fully employed status: commission-only job.

Olympic start BUT, in the beginning, for the first and almost only time, the resurrected Olympics were a sweet, apolitical, amateurish sporting carnival held in Athens during 10 unseasonably cold days in April 1896. No world records were broken by any of the 311 contestants (all male) from 13 countries. The non-Greek competitors were mainly college boys on a rollicking holiday. Ellery H Clark, a Harvard man who won gold in both the long jump and the high jump, wrote of the jolly reception Athens gave the American team: "There was

a brass band of many pieces. There was champagne — much of it — and until we were able to explain the reason for our abstinence, international complications threatened. Training? A strange word. Come, a glass of wine to pledge friendship. No? Strange people, these Americans." Another college man, George Stuart Robertson of Oxford, became an Olympian

after seeing an ad for the games in a London travel agents window. "The Greek classics were my proper academic field, so I could hardly resist a go at the Olympics, could I?" he said. He was a hammer thrower at Oxford, but there was no such event at Athens, so he entered the shot put and the discus, finishing, by his own account, fourth and sixth respectively. He spent 11 dollars for his trip to Athens, met King George of Greece ("Nice chap, sense of humour") as well as Baron de Coubertin ("funny little man, the baron") and found the Olympic experience most amusing. William Oscar Johnson in Time, looks back to an altogether different Olympic games.

Flashings God ON TUESDAY February 13, God was sent down for nine months in San Rafael, California, when he was found guilty of indecently exposing himself to a woman in a coffee shop last October. God, 68, has

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Worrying issues shoved aside by ERM wrangling

World view
Edward Balls

WILL the Italian lira or even sterling rejoin the exchange rate mechanism? Can countries enter economic and monetary union without first rejoining the ERM? These are the questions that continue to dominate the EMU debate. Slow growth, high unemployment and looming fiscal deficits ought to be the issues that are gripping policymakers across Europe as they contemplate the rigours of the Maastricht timetable. Europe's finance ministers should be spending their time asking what labour market reforms are needed to make a monetary union work without high unemployment. Instead, they are engaged in a long and confusing argument about the future of the ERM and the exchange rate relationship between the Euro and the currencies of the "outs", if and when EMU begins.

of the treaty that should be upheld. What matters is the de facto demonstration of exchange rate stability, not a government's willingness to rejoin an unpopular and unstable ERM.

But the fact that the treaty was drafted before the ERM changed its nature is not its only difficulty. It was also assumed, at that time, that every European country would be in a position to join by the end of the decade. Hence what now seems a rather glaring omission — the absence of any guidance as to the exchange rate relationship between the "ins" and "outs" — is clearly desirable in order to avoid destabilising shifts in exchange rates that undermine convergence and trade. The question is how this can be delivered in practice.

One option was to re-establish a new hard version of the ERM with narrow bands so that the "out" currencies are tightly linked to the Euro.

But this approach is fraught

Future success of monetary union rests on tackling unemployment — not exchange rates

with difficulties, as the earlier experience with the ERM showed. It proved unstable for three reasons: the countries with weaker economies were not strong enough to maintain tough exchange rate links to the German mark; realignments in the ERM were interpreted as admissions of weakness and so countries were keen to avoid them, and speculators could only be repelled if the Bundesbank was willing to intervene heavily to support the currency under attack — which would not do for weak currencies.

Now consider the position of an "out" country, within a hard ERM, trying to follow a convergence programme to get inflation and fiscal deficits

under control so they can rejoin EMU. First, the very fact that the country does not meet the convergence criteria and is not already in the monetary union is a clear indication to the markets of weakness. Second, the fact that the country wants to join EMU means it will be very keen to avoid realigning unless it is forced to. Third, the new European Central Bank, anxious to establish a track record, will be very wary of intervening to prop up weak currencies if this puts its tough credentials at risk.

That is why it makes sense that the idea of a hard ERM for the "out" currencies is now off the agenda. A much looser and voluntary exchange rate arrangement looks set to be the outcome of the next European Council meeting. And, if we are lucky, the discussion might just get back to the real issue that matters for the success of any future monetary union — the need to tackle unemployment.

Putting trade in its place



Larry Elliott

FAUCHON'S in the Place de la Madeleine in Paris is a gastronomic paradise. Here we have the globalised economy in all its glory: foods that few of us have heard of, places that most of us will never see. In the section devoted to fruit and veg there are delicacies to whet the appetite of Parisian foodies — mangoes from Mali, maracujus from Columbia, kiwanos from Portugal. There is foie gras, there are truffles, there are counters groaning with staggeringly expensive French wines and cheeses. Truly, it is Billy Hunter heaven.

ton's actions are determined by altruism: rather the US's approach is an amalgam of Bill Clinton's political expediency in the face of Pat Buchanan's blue-collar protectionism and the naked self-interest of big business. The US likes global rules and regulations in areas where it perceives that it is at threat from international competition, but wants all barriers removed where it is the dominant player. For all that, the American stance is welcome, because it offers some hope that a human dimension can be added to the trade debate. In an election year, Clinton needs organised

The way in which US agriculture is pushed through key parts of the Uruguay Round is indicative of a brutal new order in which powerful countries decide what should be liberalised and what shouldn't. This is the route to anarchy and, ironically, protectionism as well. Any challenge to globalisation requires an understanding of what we are dealing with. The theory is that liberalisation and deregulated capital flows allow countries to specialise in what they are good (or least bad) at, and this international division of labour raises global income.

competition bearing down on Western living standards is a myth. Only around 5 per cent of exports to the West — Europe, North America and Japan — come from outside, and that percentage has actually fallen in recent years. Professor Ajit Singh, of Cambridge University, goes further. He finds no evidence that globalisation has been good for us and, to the extent that it is symbiotically linked to deflationary macro-economic policies, it is positively harmful. Prof Singh compares the past 16 years with the Golden Age of 1945-73 and concludes: "Under the market supremacy model of the 1980s and 1990s, liberalisation and globalisation in industrial countries have not resulted in increased long-term economic growth, nor are these likely to do so".

Free movement of capital leads to higher foreign investment and the diffusion of best practice. As a result, the developing countries that do best are those with the least state intervention and the freest trade and these new "tiger economies" pose a massive competitive threat to living standards in the developed world. This last point is one of the keys to the whole debate. Globalisation is an important weapon for international capital because it keeps workers in their place and wages down. In fact, as the American economist Paul Krugman has pointed out, the idea of global

'Liberalisation and globalisation in industrial countries have not resulted in increased long-term economic growth, nor are these likely to do so'

Should bosses take riding lesson on pay?

Briefing
Sarah Ryle

IF COMPANY bosses were Derby jockeys, they would face much tougher performance criteria before they could collect their pay cheques. In fact, the corporate world could learn a lot from racing practices. They show that when performance-related pay is properly implemented, it produces startling effects. Despite the heated opposition from some quarters, paying people according to their efforts is not necessarily an unmitigated evil. The difficulty has been to find an effective system, one with direct rewards for good performance and penalties for inferior work, which produces a better outcome. Companies appear to have found it difficult to measure the contribution of each senior executive to the firm's overall performance. So a good individual performance may go insufficiently rewarded if the company falls

to turn in an equally good result, or a bad contribution might not be penalised. Much of the antipathy to performance-related pay has arisen because of the element of subjectivity involved. Appraisals have to be carried out, and, unless the criteria are solely based on numerically measurable elements, an element of personal judgement is inevitable. A teacher's output could, in theory, be judged on the exam results of a class of children, or a nurse on the number of patients treated, or a company boss on the dividend. But none of these will paint the whole picture. A report, due to be published next month, recognises the difficulties inherent in devising an efficient performance-related pay system while arguing that it is necessary for the health of an organisation. Especially for bosses. Sue Fernie and David Metcalf took as the base for their study that the key principles for setting bosses' pay should be 'big rewards for superior performance and big penalties for poor performance, the threat of dismissal must be

Jockeying for position

The impact of owners' retainers, 1983-1995, on jockey performance

Jockey	Estimate of retainer as % of year earnings, 1995	Rank in 2 years prior to retainer	Number of years	Ranking	Prize money won		
Carson	0.8	162nd	6	7	27	12	2.5
Cauthen	0.8-1.1	415	2	9	19	7	
Defford	not known	43	2	6	4		
Eddley	0.5-0.8	144	5	5	19	4	1.7
Marvo	not known	3210	3	3	13	14	0.4
Roberts	0.5	16	1	6	2	7	2.2
Silvester	not known	1221	3	7	18	16	1.5

real and chief executive officer's should have a smaller base salary and greater emphasis on share options and ownership. The authors examined the performance of jockeys over a 12-year period. They discovered that a 10 per cent better performance resulted in jockeys earning an average \$11,000 more per year. A comparison with mainstream companies showed that bosses received a 'paltry pay out' of 3 per cent for every 10 per cent deterioration in their firm's performance. Jockeys' individual performance could be measured as well as the impact of a breakdown in strict performance-related pay with the introduction of million-pound retainer fees from wealthy horse owners. As soon as certain riders were paid large sums to ride for one owner (the rationale was to encourage familiarity with the horses and a personal incentive for the stable

to perform well) performance actually fell. The relationship between increasing wins and increasing pay often broke down. Hardly surprising, then, the authors said, that the system has largely been abandoned. Willis Carson, for example, ranked 16th and 94th respectively in the two years before 1990 when he was retained by Hamdam Al-Maktoum on a fee of \$300,000, according to the report. But in the six years he was retained, his average rank fell to 27th compared to 12th during the seven years when he was a freelance. On that basis, guaranteed pay for bosses is an incentive destroyer. In its purest form, performance pay for jockeys would involve the riders paying the owner for the privilege of leasing the horse but then keeping the prize money. But no company boss would work on a commission-only basis, and jockeys would not work for their equivalent.

So instead prize money makes up one aspect of the pay packet, which includes a fee for a ride. A ride on the flat yielded less than a ride over jumps, reflecting added skill and danger premiums. Jockeys got double pay if the prize money doubled, fulfilling the "superior performance, superior pay" principle. If a jockey failed to win enough races his reputation would suffer, damaging his future ability to secure rides. That meant the threat of harsh penalties for bad performance were ever-present. But one other lesson was clear. Market forces alone could not produce the right system. The racing world has regulated so that temptations to reduce performance for other reasons are minimized. Being found guilty of not trying leads to suspension and no pay. How hot the debate about performance pay would get if bosses could be suspended for not trying.

Ever misguided efforts of the people's friends

Worm's eye
Dan Atkinson

TO BE taken out by a parent for an afternoon off school is to learn a useful lesson early in life: you can't always get what you want, but you can be treated to the very best of what you don't want. The money spent on teas and cakes could have bought several copies of comics, but the treats were better than a kick in the teeth.

Which brings us to a long-forgotten Eurocrat called Vredeling, whose 15 minutes of fame was assured in the early 1980s when he became the closest thing to a hero at the CEI get to a hate figure. Vredeling had some "social action" proposals (paternity leave, works councils, flat-fee leave) that had the Centre Point collaborators ripping into the Brussels commissariat. Looking back, what is striking is how little success business organisations have had both in Europe and America in resisting health, safety, employment and other rules, all of which have proliferated, fertilised with activist judicial rulings. This is strange, because the past 20 years have seen business triumphant as regards its other long-standing de-

mand, that for the de-convolution of international trade and capital movement. Galbraith divided economic activity between thousands of small and medium-sized enterprises on the one hand and a select group of corporate giants on the other. That part of the business agenda absolutely critical to the industrial Goliaths (free trade and capital flow) has won the day, whereas deregulation at workshop and office level has been jettisoned. The multinationals can always live with higher social costs and, in cases where they can't, they up and move. Small

business can do neither worse, the unfettered and disorderly free trade prized by the giants is actively destructive of the smaller-scale enterprise. This raises the question of why an unbroken line of "people's friends" from Carter via Vredeling to Blair has consistently embraced that half of the business agenda precious to the mega-corporations while neglecting the cries for help from the small and medium-sized operators. It would be pleasing to dream up a conspiracy theory, but the true explanation is that this is a far from isolated example of getting it wrong.

Tourist rates — bank sells

Country	Rate	Country	Rate	Country	Rate		
Australia	1.8375	France	7.58	Italy	2.330	Singapore	2.08
Austria	13.78	Germany	2.2450	Malta	0.2850	South Africa	6.5225
Belgium	46.08	Greece	261.00	Netherlands	2.5100	Spain	188.00
Canada	2.05	Hong Kong	11.48	New Zealand	2.15	Sweden	10.16
Cyprus	0.6950	India	53.15	Norway	9.71	Switzerland	1.82
Denmark	8.71	Ireland	0.94	Portugal	232.00	Turkey	111.883
Finland	7.14	Israel	4.55	Saudi Arabia	6.58	USA	1.4875

Indicators

TODAY — UK: IHS Public Holiday. US: New home sales (Apr). GBR: Import prices (Apr). TOMORROW — US: Consumer confidence (May). US: Existing home sales (Apr). WEDNESDAY — US: Industrial production (Apr). UK: Whole World Trade (Mar.). UK: Non-EU trade (Apr). US: GDP (Q1). US: New home sales (Apr). GBR: Bundesbank Council Meeting. FRIDAY — JP: Unemployment rate (Apr). UK: Consumer credit (Apr). UK: M4 (Final, Apr). UK: M4 Lending (Final, Apr). US: Personal Income (Apr). US: Personal consumption (Apr). Source: HSBC Markets Research.

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Racing

Bonus time for Trigger

Chris Hawkins expects champion stayer to lead all the way at Sandown

DOUBLE TRIGGER, the champion stayer, is the star turn on a good card at Sandown Park this afternoon when he attempts to win the Bournemouth Henry II Stakes for the second year running.

Taking this contest in his stride last season, he went on to win the Ascot Gold Cup and added the Goodwood and Doncaster Cups to complete the treble last achieved by Longboat in 1966.

What makes Double Trigger so remarkable is his appetite for a scrap and the way he responds to pressure. On his reappearance at Ascot he was one of the first to come off the bit but kept finding more to get up and beat Grey Shot a head.

That would not rank as one of his best efforts in terms of form and it is possible he will be opposed in the market this afternoon by Moonax who beat him comprehensively in the Yorkshire Cup last season.

Moonax meets Double Trigger on no less than 71 better terms in the book but has an excellent chance but the mile and three-quarters of the Yorkshire Cup was patently inadequate for Double Trigger who got his revenge in no uncertain manner in the Ascot Gold Cup.

Court of Honour ran well at York 11 days ago when third Classic Clieba with Grey Shot a disappointing fourth but Assessor was well beaten by Double Trigger's full-brother Double Eclipse in France recently and should not be a threat.

Although afraid of Moonax, I still make Double Trigger (3.05) the selection and hope to see Jason Weaver attempt to make all the running on him. He is best when ridden from the front and allowed to gradually increase the pace so ensuring that he does not get tappered for too.

Michael Stoute usually reserves his best early two-year-old filly for the opening BFF Maiden Fillies Stakes on this card, using the race as a stepping stone to the Queen Mary Stakes at the Royal meeting.

He has chosen Moonshine Girl (2.00) to represent him this afternoon and it would be no surprise to see her bustle up the form choice Skelton Pad, hampered when third to Dance Parade at York on her debut.

Horses cannot always be relied upon for maximum effort and Friends Ca (2.35) may be one of these. She certainly surprised connections when scoring at Chester last time (leaving Richard Hannon's travelling head-lad, the ever-optimistic Taffy Williams, speechless) but so impressive was she that another win looks likely in the Bournemouth Maiden Handicap.

Jack Berry's horses have been slower to come to hand this season than usual and his very smart sprinter Mind Games makes a belated reappearance in the Tripleprint Temple Stakes.

I say belated because by this time last season he had already won twice before returning to the Sandown hill to take this group two event.

Mind Games is well drawn today but his lack of an oval is a worry against rivals who should all be super-fit.

The physically impressive Espartaco and the filly Double Quick are talented handicappers attempting to make the step up to group company but they may find one or two just a shade too quick here.



Double top... Mind Games (noseband) bids to win today's Tripleprint Temple Stakes at Sandown for the second year running

The Doubleprint Whitsun Cup over a mile is always a tight handicap and often a pointer to the Royal Hunt Cup. Cool Edge has been very consistent this season but the same cannot be said for Royal Philosopher who failed abysmally at Haydock last time after winning the Newbury Spring Cup at 35-1 in a fast time. One can get bogged

down in these sort of races if going into the form in too much detail and it could pay to take a chance with the Stoute-trained Hammerstein (4.10) who is trained in handicap company but should relish the testing finish here.

Hammerstein, by Kris out of Musical Bliss, was highly thought of as a two-year-old and could have a touch of class.

There is a plethora of racing today and at Cheltenham like the look of Bowled Over (2.00) in the St Arvans Maiden Stakes. He finished well when third to Legally Right at Cheltenham and should appreciate this trip.

Other likely winners on this card appear to be Xenophon of Canaan (3.30), rather unluckily disqualified after winning at Newbury last week, and Intiaash (4.30).

At Redcar the big race is the Zetland Gold Cup in which the lightly-raced Donbass (5.10) must have a good chance of completing a four-timer.

Roger Charlton started him off on the all-weather at Wolverhampton, no doubt to confuse the handicapper, and the colt could still have a pound or two in hand.

Sandown card with guide to the form

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Cheltenham

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Southwell all-weather programme

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Advertisement for 'Old ha' and 'Wetherby' featuring a horse and jockey.

Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom of the page.

Racing

Chris Hawkins on the veteran jockey who ended an eventful week with a second ban and a victory in the Irish 1,000 Guineas Old hat makes no appeal to Carson

WILLIE CARSON will not be appealing against his five-day ban imposed on him by the Curragh stewards for wearing an out of date helmet after he had won the Airfie Coolmore 1,000 Guineas on Matiya on Saturday.

"New and better helmets were brought-in in March and unfortunately my valve packed an old one - I've got several," said a very downcast Carson.

"There seems no point in appealing but if they wanted to make an example of someone they picked the wrong guy as I'm a 53-year-old who's very safety conscious. It seems to be Kick Carson week."

There have been calls for him to retire but disaster is dogging him at the moment even in triumph and a series of vicious circumstances have combined against him.

Carson is only too aware of the seriousness of his recent Lingfield blunder, when he failed to see a rival coming and was pipped on the post, earning him a seven day suspension, but all jockeys make

mistakes and age had nothing to do with either that or the Curragh incident.

After all, he has won both the French and Irish 1,000 Guineas in the space of two weeks which hardly suggests he is over the hill. Certainly neither of his mistakes, resulting in bans, can be attributed to loss of nerve.

Perhaps he will retire soon but one hopes he goes in his own time and not pushed out by media pressure.

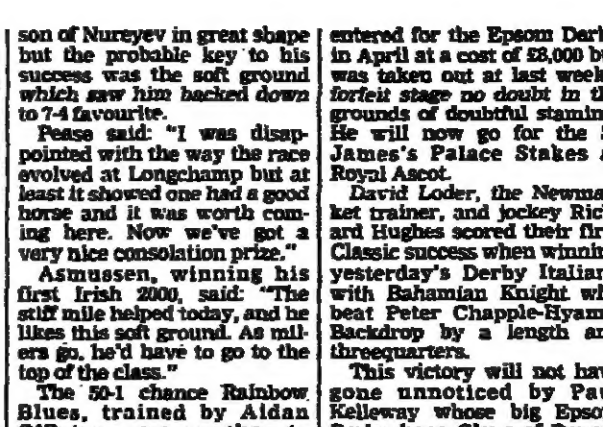
His latest suspension means he will miss the Oaks and be out of action until Derby Day but there was a flicker of the old Carson humour as he remarked: "At least I'll be the freshest jockey in the race."

Matiya, trained by Ben Hawbury, was an impressive three lengths winner after leading half a mile out. She could now go for the Oaks, a race Hanbury won with Midway Lady 10 years ago. Richard Hills is likely to take over from Carson.

Cash Asmussen is one jockey who will testify that race-riding is fraught with problems and he redeemed himself for making a mess of



Carson... no appeal



Hanbury... Guineas joy

the French 2,000 Guineas on Spinning World when he asked the Irish version on the colt at the Curragh yesterday. Asmussen failed to get out in time on Spinning World when runner-up to Ashkanani at Longchamp two weeks ago but he did not make the same mistake this time, pulling to the outside fully three furlongs from home.

It was obvious from a long way out that he had the race

in safe keeping and it was just a question of when he asked his mounts to quicken. This he did approaching the final furlong and Spinning World won with great authority by two lengths from Rainbow Blues, with Beauchamp King one and a half lengths away third. Bijou d'Inde disputed the lead for the first half mile but gradually faded to finish fourth. Beauchamp King stayed on to finish second, never had a ghost of chance with the winner who looks a very high class animal.

Spinning World, owned by the Niarchois family, was

son of Nursey in great shape but the problem was his success was the soft ground which saw him backed down to 7-4 favourite.

Pease said: "I was disappointed with the way the race evolved at Longchamp but at least it showed one had a good horse and it was worth coming here. Now we've got a very nice consolation prize."

Asmussen, winning his first Irish 2000 said: "The stiff mile helped today, and he likes this soft ground. As miler go, he'll have to go to the top of the class."

The 201 chance Rainbow Blues, trained by Aidan O'Brien, was another to relish the conditions but Bijou d'Inde, third in the English Guineas, was unable to connect with the form with Beauchamp King, the Newmarket fifth.

Bijou d'Inde disputed the lead for the first half mile but gradually faded to finish fourth. Beauchamp King stayed on to finish second, never had a ghost of chance with the winner who looks a very high class animal. Spinning World, owned by the Niarchois family, was

entered for the Epsom Derby in April at a cost of £5,000 but was taken out at last week's forfeit stage no doubt in the grounds of doubtful stamina. He will now go for the St James's Palace Stakes at Royal Ascot.

David Loder, the Newmarket trainer, and jockey Richard Hughes scored their first Classic success when winning yesterday's Derby Italiano with Bahamian Knight who beat Peter Chapple-Hyam's Backdrop by a length and three-quarters.

This victory will not have gone unnoticed by Paul Kelway whose big Epsom Derby hope Glory of Dancer had Bahamian Knight back in seventh in the Dante.

At Deauville yesterday, the Cart headed a British 1-2-3 in the Prix Palais-Royal. Mistle Cat led all the way to beat Myself and Young Ern and gave rider Wendell Woods cause for a double celebration after his wedding at Newmarket on Saturday.

Hereford (N.H.)

Racing schedule for Hereford (N.H.) including race numbers, names, and times.

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Leicester

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Uttoxeter National Hunt card

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Huntingdon (N.H.)

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SPRINT RACELINE advertisement with betting tips and odds for various races.

Soccer

International: US 2, Scotland 1

Scots fail to stay the course

Patrick Glenn in Connecticut

SCOTLAND'S slip showed a little in New England yesterday, but not enough to cause offence to the respectably large number of expatriates who made the trip to Veterans Stadium on the outskirts of Hartford.

As an exercise in vetting potential players for Euro 96 the match could be deemed a success, if only for the performances of Craig Burley, Scot Gemmill and Gordon Durie, although they were replaced.

The problems were in defence, where Whyte looked unsteady and Hendry and Calderwood in need of the outing. The result was less satisfying than some of the play, especially as the Scots had led after only nine minutes and looked capable of remaining in front.

For Craig Brown, still searching for a productive front-line partnership, Scotland's goal must have been particularly gratifying, not least because both of the strikers South and Durie played a part in it.

It was Burley, as impressive as anyone on the field, who carried out the creative part of the manoeuvre, releasing Jackson on the right with a perfectly weighted pass. The Hibernian man crossed low to Booth and his shot hit the inside of a post and broke to Durie, who drilled it over the line from six yards.

That continued a remarkable run of form by the Rangers striker, who had scored five in his last two club matches of the season. Even though it was only his fifth goal in 26 internationals, it hinted that he could be the likeliest of starters when the serious business begins.

The goal should have allowed Brown's players to rid themselves of any inhibitions but a dreadful miscalculation by Whyte only three minutes later allowed the US to equalise. The Middlesex defender lunged amateurishly at Ramos, who hit the ground, and Wynalda placed the penalty high to the right of Leighton.

During the first half Burley and Gemmill impressed enough to suggest that they will not be out of place at Euro 96. On the right the Chelsea man looked almost a master of wing-back play and instigated another move which should have restored the Scots' lead by half-time.

Holding the ball until Jess moved down the inside-right channel, he delivered an impeccably weighted pass, allowing Jess to beat Sommer in the chase but disappoint the travelling fans by lofting the ball over the goalkeeper and the bar from 15 yards.

The intervention changes to the midfield, while planned, were a little hard on Gemmill, whose form had suggested that he deserved the full 90 minutes. Burley went the same way on the hour, when he was replaced by McCall.

That was shortly after Collins had received McAllister's feed from the right and sent a low drive marginally wide from 25 yards and just after Wynalda, with only Leighton in his way, chipped over.

That miss confirmed the unease in the Scots' three-man central defence. It was Hendry who lost concentration to allow Wynalda on to Harkes's pass but Whyte who looked in need of rehearsal with the Blackburn man and Calderwood.

None of them, however, had a chance to win Jones's winking goal 18 minutes from the end. Receiving the ball from Harkes, the former Coventry player turned past McCall and sent a 25-yard drive high to the right of Leighton.

Perhaps the least satisfactory aspect of the match was that the Scots were much less menacing or creative after the probable midfield for Euro 96 had taken to the pitch. The Americans were stronger in the closing stages as the Scots toiled to no avail in the "wrong" areas.

UNITED STATES: Sommer, Barnes, Laine, Dunlap (McDonald, Smith), Harkes, Agoos, Balboa, Reyna (McBride, 53), Wynalda, Hines.

SCOTLAND: Leighton (Hibernian), Walker, Patrick (Tynes, 50), Calderwood (Sunder), Hendry (Blackburn), Whyte (Middlesbrough), Burley (Chelsea), McCall, Rangers, 59, Jackson (Hibernian), Collins, 14, Jess (Coventry), Gemmill (Forest), Collins, Monaco, 11, Boyd (Celtic), Durie (Blackburn), Spencer, 11, South (Aberdeen).

Referee: E. Carter (Mexico).

Jones... spectacular winner

fourth from bottom of the Third Division. Shearer and a trillist, Garland, did the damage, Robinson replying. At Bristol Rovers in a supposed morale-booster for next Sunday's World Cup qualifier in San Marino.

While England were campaigning in the Far East, Wales went in pursuit of their own taste of the Orient yesterday and found it pretty unpalatable.

Bobby Gould's men lost 2-1 to the side who finished



Bradford breakthrough... Hamilton, right, celebrates with Duxbury after scoring at Wembley yesterday

Third Division play-off final: Darlington 0, Plymouth Argyle 1

Pilgrims make their progress by the talismanic ring road

THE progress of the Pilgrims' supporters along the North Circular road on their first trip to Wembley reflected Argyle's season. They got there in the end, after much fretting and fuming, just as they were rewarded with promotion after a campaign in which their often looked likely to go up without the play-off lottery.

To survive this sudden-death ordeal they had a talisman in the manager Neil Warnock. He has achieved success in four play-off finals, twice with Notts County, once with Huddersfield and now with Argyle. "It was bloody hard work," he said afterwards.

It always is, but hard work brings its rewards and the Devon team's supporters, who had fanned the M4 way in winning mood from the start. They formed a noisy sea of green shirts, hats, wigs and faces and, although the record crowd for a Third Division play-off of 43,431 was below the 55,000 predicted, Darlington's supporters were swamped by the Argyle masses.

Darlington, who had defeated Argyle twice in the League and had lost only one away game all season, tried dogmatically to overcome their status as underdogs, and it was not until the 65th minute that the Pilgrims' supporters could really start to party.

Fatterson's pin-point cross from the right was headed firmly past Newell by Mudge - booked nine minutes earlier - and two thirds of the stadium erupted. It was Plymouth's first goal of the season against Darlington.

Before that crucial strike Argyle could have put their heads in their hands and tears in their eyes. Darlington's manager Jim Platt vowed his side would be winners next season but Argyle were not to be denied on the day.

For their enthusiastic hordes the North Circular would not have seemed half as bad on the way home. SCOTLAND: Sommer, Barnes, Laine, Dunlap, McDonald, Smith, Harkes, Agoos, Balboa, Reyna, Wynalda, Hines.

Wales are eclipsed by the Orient

WHILE England were campaigning in the Far East, Wales went in pursuit of their own taste of the Orient yesterday and found it pretty unpalatable.

Bobby Gould's men lost 2-1 to the side who finished

fourth from bottom of the Third Division. Shearer and a trillist, Garland, did the damage, Robinson replying. At Bristol Rovers in a supposed morale-booster for next Sunday's World Cup qualifier in San Marino.

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Hoey calls for clean-up of 'seedy private club'

THE Labour MP Kate Hoey, a long-time critic of the England coach Terry Venables's business dealings, yesterday turned her guns on the British game and demanded "urgent action to clean up the whole murky world of agents, transfer fees and payments".

The member for Vauxhall went on to claim that supporters are being cheated by the illegal siphoning of money out of clubs. Hoey, who feels that a new "compliance unit" would make the transfer procedure and any undercover dealings more transparent, said: "Football is indeed a multi-million pound business and yet in many areas it is still run like a seedy private club."

The Premier League set up a commission more than two and a half years ago to look into allegations of undercover payments and the role of agents, yet in all this time there has been only one report - on George Graham. This commission cannot, and will not, get to the bottom of the allegations. It has no powers to subpoena evidence or witnesses.

Hoey claimed that too many people with vested interests in the game had hindered the present commission's efforts. "The public has a right to know as money being siphoned illegally out of clubs means fans are being cheated at the turnstiles."

Managerial miracle workers vie for the final piece

MARTIN O'NEILL and Dave Bassett vie this afternoon to complete a transformation of personal fortunes that mirrors the startling change in Leicester and Crystal Palace fates this season.

O'Neill has not forgiven his critics. "It was unfair to be judged after 13 weeks and I was very personal" - but much will be forgotten if

Leicester regain Premier status at Palace's expense. The Ulsterman concedes his team "was playing poor football" when he took over. But now the mood has been transformed by seven unbeaten games that have whisked them to Wembley. Bassett is likely to give the 19-year-old defender Quinn his third full game while the Leicester striker, Roberts, hopes to play a part after recovering from broken ribs.

Rugby League

Super League: Oldham 27, Workington Town 29

Kitchin sinks grizzling Bears

He was then confronted by a small but highly disgruntled group of fans demanding his resignation. Goodway will not give them that satisfaction but the pressure is mounting on Oldham's young coach.

A crowd of 2,226 was one major cause for concern but the way in which Oldham tacked away the two points at stake was almost wanton. Little wonder that the players, as they trooped off at the end, looked like men who had been sandbagged.

They had the game won at the interval when they led 22-8 with tries from Clarke, Atchison and two from that feisty winger Belle, who opened Oldham's account in the 11th minute and got his second just past the half-hour after some excellent approach work by Crompton.

Oldham tried to set up a drop-goal and at the third attempt succeeded. Crompton popping the ball over seven minutes from time. But it was not enough. Kitchin replied in kind and then, as the game drifted into injury time, he came up with the winner.

It took a brave referee to award a penalty for not aligning correctly at the play-the-ball. Oldham were livid. The kick was directly in front of the posts and Kitchin took an age to compose himself. But over went the kick and Town had their first Super League victory.

Two passes from Steve Matthews to Sean La Chapelle covering 48 yards set up the winning kick after Frankfurt's Jay Kearney had tied the game with 57 seconds left from the back-up quarterback Brad Brett's 44-yard touchdown pass.

Until the final minute two interceptions by George Coghill, one returned for a touchdown and the other preventing a Frankfurt score, had been the difference in the match.

The Claymores' defence repeatedly repelled Frankfurt drives as the Galaxy, who won their first four matches averaging 37 points, suffered a third successive defeat.

Matthews had thrown 109 passes without an interception before this game but Frankfurt picked him off four times, including a 27-yard touchdown by Chris Hall. However, Matthews did manage a 52-yard touchdown pass to La Chapelle, who finished the match with seven catches for 182 yards.

Cricket

News and Scores 0891 22 88+

Table with 2 columns: Counties update, Scores. Includes entries for Derbyshire, Durham, Essex, Glamorgan, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Kent, Lancashire, Leicestershire.

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Errant Bronco Cochrane is odds-on to be busted

LONDON BRONCOS will play their first home match for six weeks when they meet Oldham at The Valley on Sunday but they are likely to be without their centre Ewan Cochrane, writes Paul Fitzpatrick.

Cochrane was sent off on Saturday for punching Warrington's young forward Paul Barrow, a lapse of discipline which left London playing with 12 men for 55 minutes of a match

they lost 23-24 only at the death. Broncos were leading 10-8, through tries from Terry Matterson and Scott Roskel, when Cochrane got the red card.

Barrow needed blood-bin treatment and the Wire hooker Andrew Bennett was sent to the sin-bin for retaliation. Cochrane will be lucky to escape suspension at Thursday's disciplinary hearing.

Matterson, the Broncos' captain returning after a two-match suspension, was dismissive of his side's performance at Wilderspool but he was being unduly hard on a side who fought superbly against the odds.

They were eventually beaten by an outstanding try from Jon Roper, his second of the match, and the Warrington centre is looking increasingly impressive after a long absence with injury.

American Football

Hastings saves the day for Claymores

Mike Carlson

PAUL McCALLUM'S 46-yard field goal two seconds from time gave the Scottish Claymores a 20-17 victory over Frankfurt Galaxy at Murrayfield, although it needed a saving tackle by Gavin Hastings from the game's final kick-off to make the win safe.

Hockey

International: Great Britain 1, Germany 2

Copp out of luck in first match

Pat Rowley at Milton Keynes

JOHN COPP failed to celebrate his appointment as Britain's Olympic team coach when, in his first game in charge, the Olympic champions Germany defeated Britain, their predecessors, 2-1 here yesterday.

The result was hardly unexpected. Britain have not beaten Germany since the 1998 Olympic final and the match could hardly have come at a worse time for Copp after a hectic transitional week. Nor was it ideal for Olympic players unavailable, but it did confirm their depth in talent. Their first touch, too, was always superior.

Equestrianism

Funnell takes title for second time

John Kerr at Windsor

PIPPA FUNNELL, having led throughout on Marshland Rubio, landed the Windsor International Horse Trials three-day event title for the second successive year yesterday.

Although a fence down in the showjumping arena reduced her winning margin, the 27-year-old from Surrey finished ahead of Ireland's who fast and faultless cross-country on Saturday led to second them from 15th to second. Jeannette Brakewell on Rain Dancer was third, ahead of Australia's Olympic champion Matt Ryan on Kibah Sandstone.

Jonquil Hemming, a former national young riders' champion, also led from the outset to win the national class on her grey Positive Rain.

Sport

© The Guardian

Exclusive: Lion in England strip drinks pint of lager. http://www.carlsberg.co.uk

Handwritten Arabic text: ٥٥٠١٢٣٤٥

Golf

Lawrie in blazing pursuit

David Davies at Wentworth

TWO complete classicists, Costantino Rocca of Italy and Mark McNulty of Zimbabwe, lead the Volvo PGA Championship after three rounds. Both scored 69 yesterday for 11-under-par totals of 203. One stroke behind them is Paul Lawrie of Scotland, "Guns a'blazin'," as he put it.

come out guns a'blazin', which is what happened. Nobody, of course, works harder than Faldo but perhaps he could do with the kind of lesson his mentor gave Lawrie. "It's a struggle at the moment," he said. "I've got no touch. You've got to bash them on these greens and I'm not so good at that." But Leadbetter is not currently available. "He's going back to Orlando via Tokyo," said Faldo, "and I've no idea how to get hold of him."

After eight holes yesterday Faldo was two over par, having missed fairway, green and 181 putt at the 7th before three-putting the 8th. A fine wedge to six feet at the 16th and a 12ft putt at the last kept him in contention. Montgomerie, provided he can be persuaded to speak at all, talks a good game. "I'm playing as well as anyone in this field but I'm not holding out" was his latest verdict. "I missed three from three feet on Saturday and three from inside four feet today. I should be right in there but I'm not. I'll have to score something silly in the final round, say 65, to have a chance but I'm quite capable of doing that."

Montgomerie even has a recipe for a 65. "You've got to be four under after 10," he said, "because there are two drive-and-wedge holes and three par-fives to come. Take three of those five chances and there's your 65." So saying he went off to try to make his 10th putt in succession, knowing that he

miss one would mean starting all over again. He concentrates the mind wonderfully. This game can be deceptively difficult at times, as Steve Webster is rapidly discovering. It was this 21-year-old from Aberthorn in Warwickshire and not the married trumpeter Gordon Strachan who finished as leading amateur in the Open, and he who led the European Tour school graduates, but he has suffered a miserable start to his professional career.

Of 12 events this year as far as he is concerned, Australia, South Africa and Dubai, he has missed the cut in 10, falling by a single shot on six of those occasions. On Saturday, after taking a double bogey at the long 17th, he birdied the 18th to make the cut right on the mark. Halalujah — a chance at the pot in the tour's richest event. Yesterday it seemed that he was going to make the most of it. Three under after 11 he was the best of the early starters and had the relatively



Iron resolve... Mark McNulty, who ended the day as joint leader, refuses to be kept in the shade on Wentworth's 9th fairway. PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENNINGS

Athletics

Zelezny throws down gauntlet

Duncan Mackay

JUST when it looked safe to sit at the far end of an athletics stadium the javelin has taken another flight into the unknown. On Saturday in Jena Jan Zelezny of the Czech Republic produced a world-record throw of 88.48m, nearly three metres farther than the previous mark of 85.65 that he set at Sheffield in 1993.

TENNIS: THE FRENCH OPEN

Muster rolls in with all but Becker

Stephen Bierley in Paris

MUSTER'S ankle: Semprans' back; Becker's thigh. The build-up to the French Open has been a litany of injuries but in the end the only leading player missing is Becker and his chances of winning here at Roland Garros were about as likely as finding a bottle of Australian wine in a Parisian restaurant.

Thomas Muster, who claimed his first and only Grand Slam title here last year, turned his ankle during his Austrian home tournament at St Pölten last week and after the sprain was not a problem. "I don't know what the Duchess of York has to do with the French Open title," replied Muster, who could not recall such an article in the French sports daily.



Title-bolder... Muster wins last year. MALFRED SPRENGARTN

He was runner-up here in 1990 and 1991 and nobody can be the least bit sure how he will perform this time. Muster, despite the injury scars, remains a clear favourite and his greatest threat may come from Spain's Alberto Costa, a 20-year-old who pushed the Austrian desperately close in last year's quarter-final. Chile's Marcelo Rios, who won the St Pölten event on Saturday, may also go a long way.

Britain's No. 1 Tim Henman begins his challenge today on an outside court against Belgium's Eric Gossens. Greg Rusedski, like Muster, got an extra day's practice. And there the similarity will probably end.

Top two promise a rare treat

Graf and Seles return and Paris is praying for a rematch, says Stephen Bierley

IT WAS the early bird who caught the best of the weather in Paris yesterday and Monica Seles was up bright and early at Roland Garros, beginning a two-hour practice session at just after eight o'clock when the Bois de Boulogne was all but silent.

Italian Open when she lost in the quarter-finals to the Swiss teenager Martina Hingis. Since Rome she has won a tournament in Berlin and, she believes, regained her confidence. "The thing that burdened me in Italy was I played such bad tennis. It wasn't just the match against Martina, it was every time I went out court. I felt I had no control and that worried me."

Weekend results

Soccer

ENGLISH LEAGUE
Second Division play-off
Sheff Wed 0 (1) 0 Notts County 0 (2)
Hullion 0 0
Sheff Wed 0 (1) 0 Notts County 0 (2)

Athletics

WORLD BOSS
WORLD BOSS
WORLD BOSS
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WORLD BOSS

Baseball

AMERICAN LEAGUE
Cleveland 6, Detroit 3
Boston 3, Oakland 1, Minnesota 4
Toronto 0, Chicago 4, Milwaukee 3, Kansas 0

Baseball

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Sport in brief

Motor Cycling
The world champion Michael Doohan won the 500cc Italian Grand Prix on a Honda yesterday to strengthen his position at the top of the standings. Britain's Darren Dixon and Andy Hetherington were runners-up in the sidecar race behind the Swiss pair Paul and Charly Guedel.

Rugby Union

CHALLENGER MATCH
Wales 44, France 44

Rugby League

WARRIORS SUPER LEAGUE
Warrington 19, Leeds 19

Baseball

AMERICAN LEAGUE
Cleveland 6, Detroit 3
Boston 3, Oakland 1, Minnesota 4
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Wembley victory takes Bradford up, page 14
Ups and downs of a Carson weekend, page 13

Lawrie in blazing pursuit, page 15
Faldo fades in Wentworth gloom, page 15

Sports Guardian

David Lacey sees Ferdinand's goal clinch a meaningless 1-0 victory for England before a disillusioned Hong Kong crowd

Fruitless toil in Eastern gloom

ENGLAND'S last public performance before the European Championship was as dull as the skies which drenched the prosaic proceedings in luke-warm rain. By the end of a damp, humid afternoon the atmosphere in the Hong Kong Stadium bore comparison with a bowl of bird's-nest soup. If only the fare on offer had been even half as appetising. England played the second match of their Far East tour in Maoist grey masquerading as indigo-blue and did little to divert the spectators' attention from the shape of things to come. Nor was any further light cast on the shape of Venables's squad for Euro 96. England defeated Hong Kong Golden Selection, a pink-shirted hybrid of British and European ex-pats with the odd obligatory Chinaman thrown in, through a header from Les Ferdinand just past the half-hour. The match was heavily endowed with the

The match had the trappings of a big occasion but in reality it was a sponsors' junket

trappings of a big occasion — all press conferences and presentations — but in reality it was a sponsors' junket and the poor quality of the football reflected this.

The chants of "what a load of rubbish" from both the home crowd and visiting England fans needed no translation. Spectators had paid the equivalent of between £16 and £50 for entertainment which was roughly on a par with an illustrated lecture on the history of the Cantonese nose flute, and at least the latter would have held the attention of any passing nasal flautists. Mercifully Venables did not attempt to camouflage the poverty of an England display that was as uninspired as the 3-0 win over China in Beijing three days earlier had been encouraging. "We didn't play as well as we expected to," he said. "There are still some things we have to work on but teams are never going to lie down for us to walk over."

With old English sweets like Mike Duxbury, Carlton Fairweather and the guesting Dave Watson in their side, Hong Kong Golden were never going to do that. In fact



Venables... game for a laugh

their best player, the 35-year-old Dutchman Marion van der Sande, exposed the limitations of first Ferdinand and then Alan Shearer against tight-marking before Watson did England a favour by clashing heads with his new colleague. Van der Sande missed the last 10 minutes with a bad cut.

Avoiding the sort of accidents these dodgy dress rehearsals have brought in the past turned out to be England's most significant achievement. In 1986 Gary Lineker cracked a wrist in Vancouver after the FA had deemed it essential that England play Canada between finishing pre-World Cup training at Colorado Springs and flying down to Mexico.

Four years later Bobby Robson's team hopped over to Tunis from Sardinia shortly before their opening fixture of Italia 90 in Cagliari. A fraught afternoon saw England narrowly avoid defeat against Tunisia and Terry Butcher pilloried on television for chinning an opponent.

This time the most obvious accident-in-waiting confined his appearances to kick-ins before and during the game. The crowd appreciated Paul Gascoigne's latest blond hair-rinse, a golden wonder in itself, but he was denied his skills by the blister he had picked up in Beijing.

Playing Gascoigne was not worth the risk but the spectacle demanded his artistry all the same. Steve McNamara saw a lot of the ball on the left and set up England's goal in the 33rd minute when he slipped past Van der Sande near the byline and provided the pass which enabled Sheringham to find Ferdinand's head with a well-aimed centre. Yet on other occasions the Liverpool player's right-footedness looked a handicap on that flank.

The discomfort of Steve Howey, back from a hamstring injury but now afflicted by a calf strain, will make news of Gary Pallister's sciatica an item of greater urgency when England arrive home tomorrow. Sol Campbell, mid Ugo Ekeke, eventually replaced Howey.

The fact that Tony Adams has played two full games for England after his 3½-month recovery from a cartilage operation may prove the main gain from this questionable Oriental exercise. But doubts remain about his ability to operate in a three-man defence at tournament level.

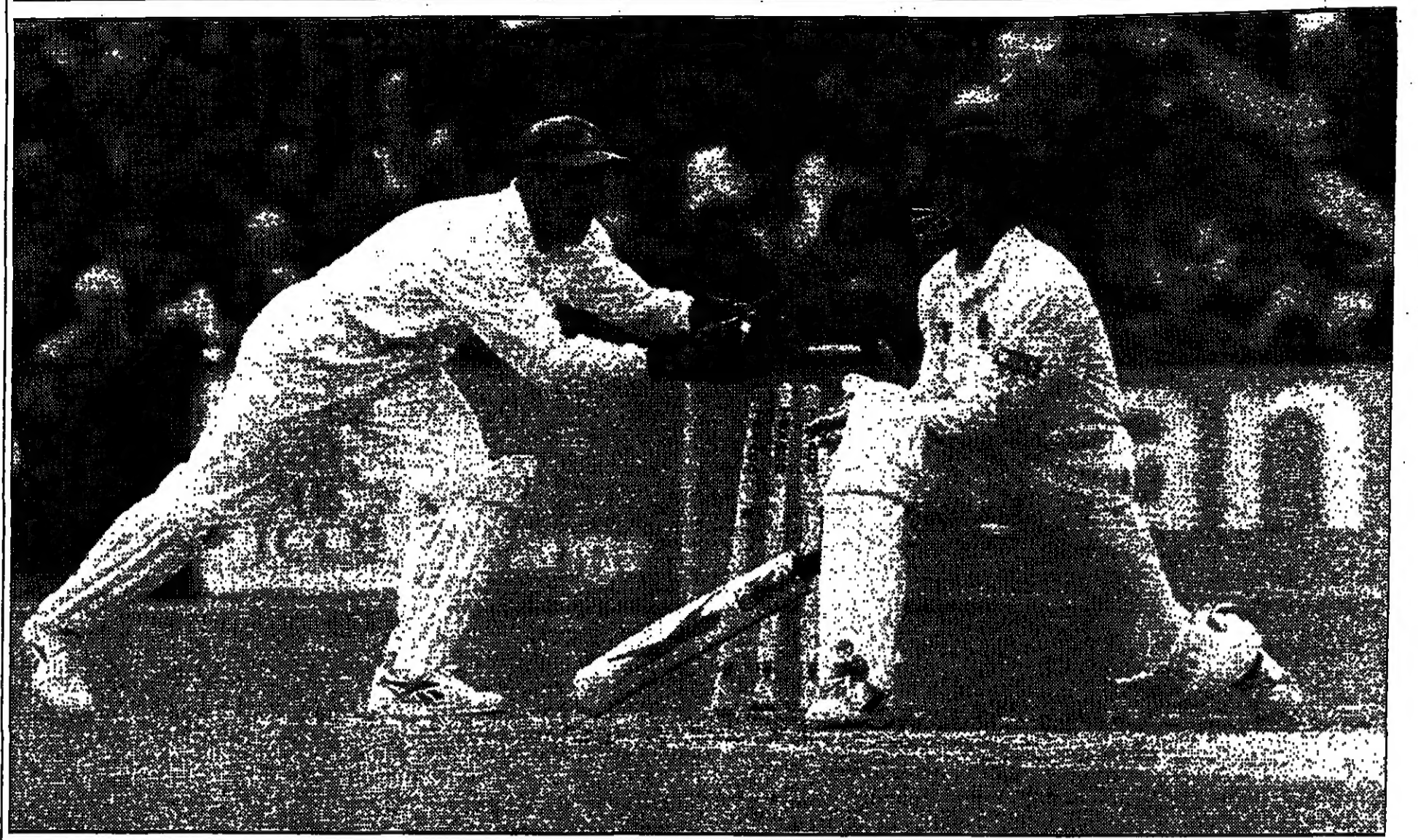
Not unreasonably Venables said he was satisfied with the outcome of nine days which have seen England beat Hungary and China 3-0 and survive Hong Kong with no last-minute casualties. "England should come to this part of the world at least two or three times before the 2002 World Cup to find out what it's all about," he added.

As if Hong Kong did not have enough to be depressed about just now.

HONG KONG GOLDEN SELECTION: Hasford; Duxbury, Watson, Van der Sande; (subs: Shing-Kit, Bonnet; Granger, Grubb, Roberts, Lee Fook-wing; Sikuwa (Pak); Kam-shuen, 75); Fairweather; Sullivan.

ENGLAND: Shearer; (Arsenal); P. Heffernan; (Manchester United); Adams (Oxford); Howey (Newcastle United); Campbell; Tottenham; 50; Pearce (Nottingham Forest); Stone (Nottingham Forest); Aspinwall; Tottenham; 52; (Intercontinental); P. Heffernan; (Liverpool); White; Blackburn; 78; (Scotland); Newcastle United; Shearer; Blackburn; 1-1; Sheringham (Tottenham); Fowler; Liverpool; 71; Robinson; (Malaysia).

BANK-HOLIDAY OVERTIME FOR UNLUCKY TOURISTS AS RAIN STOPS PLAY AGAIN



Damage witness... Ganguly turns to see Stewart end his innings of 46 with a neat legside stumping off the occasional medium pace of Thorpe

Third Texaco Trophy One-day International: England v India

Indians scent a silver lining

Mike Selvey at Old Trafford
THE bad weather that has blighted the Indian tourists since they arrived three weeks ago continued yesterday, condemning the third and final one-day international to a carry-over today. With the first match at The Oval unable to be completed and that at Headingley on Saturday, the only one of the three without an allocated reserve day, suffering a reduction in overs, it means that this has been the most unsatisfactory series since Texaco began their sponsorship 12 years ago. If the conditions have been dismal, however, there is still the prospect of a worthy finish in front, one hopes, of a decent Bank Holiday crowd. Rain had already knocked out three hours of the first session of play during the in-

nings and finally returned with England just one over into their reply. It was a significant over, though, for Javagal Srinath, with his fourth ball, produced the most vicious of break-backs which jack-knifed the England captain Mike Atherton, catching him flat-footed on the crease. The ball may have jagged too much for a comfortable decision but the vehemence of Srinath's appeal was answered in the affirmative by the umpire David Constant, on his return to the international scene after six years. When the rain washed in two balls later, England, who had lost the toss for the first time in the series, were two for one. In reply to India's 298 for four and, with the juice in the pitch certain to be renewed under the covers overnight, honours were just about even. Just as England had done at

Headingley, India played themselves out of trouble, shrugging off the early loss of Sachin Tendulkar with a half-century from his fellow opener, Vikram Rathore, 46 from Saurav Ganguly in his first match of the series and, most telling of all, an unbeaten 73 in 84 balls from Mohammad Asharuddin, a masterpiece of eye-play and steely wrists. With Ajay Jadeja (29) first of all and then with Rahul Dravid (22 not out), the Indian captain attacked so decisively into the later stages of the innings that England conceded 86 runs from the final 10 overs. Although the England fielding maintained its high standard of the previous matches, with Matthew Maynard outstanding, there was a little of the sparkle missing from the bowlers after. Dominic Cork had made a vital breakthrough in the fifth over. Attacking the crease hard-

quered him up, and Cork found the edge of Tendulkar's bat and Hick made no mistake with the catch at second slip. Cork almost ran into the outgoing batsman, so exuberant was his follow-through. The rain arrived two overs later, and on the resumption at 2.20, Rathore and the left-hander Ganguly set about rebuilding the innings with a second-wicket partnership of 92, both batsmen taking advantage of some width from the bowlers, particularly Peter Martin. It was a piece of innovative thinking from Atherton that made the breakthrough for England. Graham Thorpe had bowled only eight overs of his gentle medium pace in 37 matches but he was called up to bowl and Rathore, who had hit four fours in his 54, obligingly lofted his fourth delivery to Cork at long-on. It was Thorpe's first international wicket and four overs later he had another, as Ganguly missed a leg-gance and Alec Stewart brought off a neat leg-

side stumping. Thorpe was allowed to rest on his laurels, having taken two for 15 from four overs, but it was not to be Stewart's last contribution. As the innings was coming towards its end, Jadeja, stepping inside Cork and attempting to smear him over extra cover, got an edge and Stewart, diving away to his right, held a gymnastic one-handed catch. For good measure, he threw the ball in the air and caught it behind his back. Unfortunately some damage had already been done, for the previous overs had seen Jadeja and Asharuddin embark on an onslaught that began Asharuddin hitting Neil Smith's off-spin over long-on and midwicket for successive sixes. Nor did Lewis escape as Jadeja launched an outrageous shot over extra cover for another six. The pair added 77 in nine overs that may have transformed the match.

Scoreboard

Table with 2 columns: Team/Player and Score. Includes scores for India (298) and England (212).

Illy risks all he holds dear

David Hopps on the fall from high of England's chairman
IT IS debatable whether Socrates or the Labour Party was responsible for the longest suicide note in history but Raymond Illyworth seems hell bent on producing the loudest. His rule as the Great Autocrat having failed to rally England's cause, Illyworth is determined to retire as a suffering martyr, imagining himself as a frank and honest Yorkshireman perpetually obstructed by the unprincipled scheming of his class enemies within the Test and County Cricket Board. He will depart a bitter man at the end of the summer, he pronounces, forced out by his detractors' constant carping. Come again? The understanding was that he would retire then in any event. Illyworth might have good reason to feel betrayed by Devon Malcolm's attitude in South Africa, and to feel

slighted by the TCCB's failure to discipline the Derbyshire fast bowler for his subsequent outburst. But for such a spat to develop into the final battleground of his chairmanship is ludicrous. His claim that the publication date of his book detailing his time as chairman was entirely out of his hands beggars belief. He wanted his say and he wanted it now. The TCCB has no right to stop him. But when he states that there was no reason to hold his counsel until the end of the season, he overlooks the best reason of all: plain bloody commonsense. Illyworth has always depicted himself as "a dressing-room man" but that dressing-room came to mistrust him. They would have traded some of his knowledge and insight for a belief in his loyalty; they suspected the reputation he held most dear was his own. In David Lloyd, England's new coach, the players have discovered someone who invigorates and inspires them. His enthusiasm can be as infectious as Illyworth's griping could be deflating. Illy-

Guardian Crossword No 20,663

Crossword puzzle grid with clues for Across and Down. Includes clues like 'The person who thinks he's put on (7)', 'Record deposit (3,4)', etc.

Word search puzzle with a grid and a list of words to find. Includes words like 'GALLON', 'PULVER', 'SPOON', etc.

Parenthood is still too fraught an idea. "I can drive myself crazy wondering about my child," she says, "and I fear that would become a time-bomb if I had a child. I know it's no good to have a child to heal my wounds." Angela Neustatter interviews Anna Reynolds

Women G2 page 12

Vertical advertisement on the right edge of the page, partially cut off, with text like 'Sickn...', 'the ce...', 'ilk fea...', 'Yeltsin a...', 'B', 'Inside'.